READ PERSPECTIVES

SPRING 1998 · VOL. V, NO. 1

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A publication of the READ Institute

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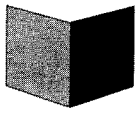

READ THE INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN ENGLISH ACQUISITION AND DEVELOPMENT

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- "Toward an Understanding of Effective Instructional Practices for Language Minority Students: Findings from a Naturalistic Research Study"—Russell Gersten, Thomas J. Keating, and Susan Unok Brengelman

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- "The Language of Immigrants" (Excerpted from *Language Minority Children in School: A Comparative Study of Twelve Nations*)—Charles L. Glenn
- "Follow-up Study on the Bethlehem, PA, School District's English Acquisition Program"—Ann Goldberg
- "The Cost of Bilingual Education: Updating a National Study"—Terry Graham

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- "LEP Students in Secondary Schools: A Critique of the U. S. Department of Education Study"—Kevin Clark
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INTRODUCTION

The Institute for Research in English Acquisition and Development (READ) celebrates the beginning of its fifth year of publication of *READ Perspectives* with this volume. The journal has not only survived in a perilous time for scholarly magazines, but is steadily gaining visibility and a growing list of individual and university library subscribers. The invitation to join the Transaction Periodicals Consortium at Rutgers University in 1996 gave *READ Perspectives* two major advantages: an affiliation with thirty-five highly respected journals in the social sciences, and a considerable reduction in printing and distribution costs. We must also acknowledge that our journal would not be a reality without the continuing support of several foundations.

In 1991, the READ Institute commissioned its first research project, a comprehensive analysis of the El Paso, Texas, programs for language minority students (*Bilingual Immersion: A Longitudinal Evaluation of the El Paso Program*, 1992, Washington, D.C.: The READ Institute). The study by Professor Russell Gersten of the University of Oregon reported on seven years of data comparing Spanish-speaking students in two groups: the treatment group who were assigned to the Bilingual Immersion Project and taught all their school subjects in English from the first day of school, with 30 minutes to 90 minutes a day of Spanish; and the control group who were enrolled in the Transitional Bilingual Education Program and taught all subjects in Spanish, with a 30 minute to 60 minute English lesson daily. Results showed that immersion students outperformed their peers in the bilingual program in English language learning and in knowledge of school subjects, in grades 4, 5, and 6, according to ITBS and district tests. The study also reported that no differences were observed in either group in levels of self-esteem or stress.

Professor Gersten and his colleagues at the University of Oregon, Professors Scott Baker and Thomas Keating, have now completed a follow-up study on El Paso. They analyze data on the academic performance of high school students from the original study groups who are still enrolled in district schools, eighty-nine from the English immersion classes and eighty-six from the native language classes. After ten or more years in the El Paso schools, differences in academic performance between the two groups in reading, math and writing are not dramatic or significant.

There is a very important kernel of fact-based wisdom embedded in the objec-

tive statistical analyses and measured statements of Gersten, Baker and Keating. In the concluding policy implications and findings, they state:

> These findings fail to support the widely held belief that increased native language instruction throughout the seven years of elementary school will lead to better long term outcomes than a much more rapid introduction of English language instruction. For that reason, we urge policy-makers to seriously question their investment in an approach that has no empirical support. (p. 24)

Ramirez, Collier, Wong-Filmore and other noted researchers in this field have strongly promoted the notions that long years of native language instruction produce higher student achievement at the secondary school level than the performance of LEP students provided a mostly English language program, and that literacy must be developed first in the native language before reading can be effectively mastered in the second language. The rigorous longitudinal study conducted in El Paso over a ten-year period proves beyond doubt that special, English-intensive, content-based instruction from the first day of school, and the early development of literacy in English for LEP students produces superior results up to grade 6, and comparable—not inferior—results in grades 7 through 12.

Heretofore, READ Perspectives has published mainly reviews of new research, individual program descriptions and program evaluations. In this present issue, two companion pieces from Anaheim, California, contribute a new insight into the day-by-day workings of language minority education. They provide detailed accounts of the serious problems faced by educators challenging an unresponsive school administration. Harald Martin, elected School Board member, and Cathy Liska, elementary school teacher for twenty-five years, both in Anaheim, have extraordinary experiences to relate. How these two activists fared in their individual efforts to improve learning for limited-English students is of special interest to California educators, but the circumstances described will be all too familiar to many in public schools across the country.

The third article in the current issue is a survey of the legal requirements for the education of limited-English children in all fifty states, the most current data available in late 1997. It is valuable information for educators, legislators and parents of school children. Also included are the figures on the number of limited-English students and the level of funding per student in each state. A wide disparity in funding levels is instantly apparent, ranging from zero dollars, to a modest $400 per year per student for two years in Colorado, to the very generous $2,500 extra per student allocated annually in Florida and Mas-

sachusetts. This survey, the work of Anita Garcia and Cynthia Morgan, was entirely supported by the Center for Equal Opportunity in Washington, D.C.

The last article is a new feature in *READ Perspectives*—"Afterword"—initiating a section devoted to readers' responses to material published previously in this journal. Steven Krashen takes this opportunity to differ on several points with the review by Barbara Mujica of his recent book, *Under Attack: The Case against Bilingual Education.* Mujica's review, entitled "Irreconcilable Differences: Two Approaches to Educating LEP Students," appeared in the Fall, 1997, issue of *READ Perspectives* (Vol. IV-2). We cordially invite responsible commentaries on any of our published articles, now that Professor Krashen has "christened" this new section.

Finally, we have an important announcement for educators, researchers, academics, and our general readers. Beginning in 1998, *READ Perspectives* will become an annual publication. It will contain at least twice the number of pages now published in two volumes, and will appear in September of each year. Each issue will focus on a general theme, although other articles of special importance will be considered. We invite proposals now for research support and will accept manuscripts on the general theme, "Following Up on Effective Programs for Limited-English Students: The How, What or Where of What's Working."

Rosalie Pedalino Porter, Editor
READ Perspectives

El Paso Programs for English Language Learners: A Longitudinal Follow-up Study

Russell Gersten, Ph.D.
Scott Baker, Ph.D.
Thomas Keating, Ph.D.

Over the last fifteen years, the field of bilingual education has grappled with the problem of how to introduce English language instruction in school. Many early English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) programs stressed grammar and usage in a decontextualized fashion whereas contemporary ESOL programs have emphasized more natural, conversational instructional methods (McLaughlin, 1985). Recently, ESOL programs have begun to emphasize merging second-language instruction with reading, language arts, and content-area instruction. This has been stimulated by insights from research by Allen (1989), Barrera (1984), Chamot and O'Malley (1989), and Elley and Mangubhai (1983). Many of these researchers have utilized contemporary approaches to literacy instruction as a basis for enhancing English language development.

When researchers have integrated English language instruction with content-area instruction in subjects such as mathematics, science, and social studies, results have also been promising (Chamot & O'Malley, 1989). This emerging body of research has had a profound effect on the manner in which English is introduced to limited-English proficient students.

Contrasting Models of Bilingual Education

Apart from the manner in which English is introduced, a major source of controversy in the field of bilingual education is *when* to move students into English language academic instruction. Those favoring an *immersion* approach believe that this transition should be made as early as first grade (Genesee, 1984; Northcutt & Watson, 1986). They argue that students can acquire English while learning academic content if English is introduced systematically and gradually. Other bilingual educators believe that the transition should be more gradual and that native language instruction should be used through-

out the student's entire elementary schooling (Cummins, 1980; Krashen, 1982). Although a variety of terms describe this approach, we use *transitional bilingual education* throughout this article to describe this method.

Ramirez (1992) differentiated between three types of bilingual education programs. In total immersion programs students receive virtually all of their instruction in English from the first day of school. In the early-exit programs, transitional teachers use English approximately two-thirds of the time in kindergarten and first grade and the student's native language during the remaining time. By fourth grade virtually all of the student's instruction is in English.

In the late-exit programs, English is used approximately 15 percent to 25 percent of the time in the primary grades. Most academic instruction is in the native language. However, Ramirez found that individual schools varied greatly in the amount of English they provided students under each of these program models.

Like most bilingual programs for Latino students in the United States, El Paso has struggled to find the right balance between English language acquisition and academic content learning, and has offered programs reflecting differential emphasis on both viewpoints since 1984. The following sections briefly present the thinking behind the two approaches underlying the El Paso Transitional Bilingual Education and Bilingual Immersion Programs.

Transitional Bilingual Education

Wong-Fillmore and Valdez (1986) offered a concise rationale for the transitional bilingual education model as the best way to ensure high levels of literacy for language minority students. They argued that although students who are limited in English proficiency (LEP) "can acquire decoding skills relatively easily... they have considerably greater difficulty making sense of the materials they read.... [This] attests to the necessity of knowing the language before reading it. If reading involves the act of making intelligible to oneself written texts of any complexity beyond that of street signs, it is not possible to read in a language one does not know" (p. 661). They inferred from research that premature transfer of students into all-English academic programs would interfere with the development of higher order thinking (Krashen, 1982; Moll & Diaz, 1986).

Wong-Fillmore and Valdez (1986) also argued that such placement leads to instructional materials that are simplified or "watered down" to meet students' perceived competence. "A common reaction to the less-than-fluent English of a student is to teach content from a lower grade level and to expect

only lower-level cognitive skills, such as simple recall" (Chamot & O'Malley, 1989, p. 114). Thus, the predominant use of simplified materials can lead to unnecessary constraints on students' cognitive growth (Ramirez, Yuen, Ramey, Pasta, & Billings, 1990). Furthermore, premature transition into all-English programs is likely to stifle use of Spanish in the home and community (Cziko, 1992; Wong-Fillmore & Valdez, 1986).

Teachers in transitional bilingual programs conduct academic instruction in students' primary language until students:

a. Demonstrate an adequate grasp of English, thus enabling them to succeed in classes with English language academic instruction; and
b. Exhibit competence in academic areas in their native language.

One goal of transitional bilingual education is increased mastery of concepts in mathematics, social studies, and other content areas since they are taught in Spanish, the language that students understand the best. Transitional bilingual education is widely implemented in communities with large numbers of Latino students such as El Paso.

Immersion Programs

In the 1980s, an innovative but controversial alternative to transitional bilingual education was introduced in the U.S. There were several reasons for this. One was the large influx of Southeast Asian students speaking many different languages—Lao, Cambodian, Vietnamese. Districts no longer had twenty or thirty students at a given grade who spoke the same language, so transitional bilingual education was not viable. Furthermore, there were few qualified teachers who spoke Hmong or Cambodian.

Districts began experimenting with forms of immersion variously termed "sheltered English" (Northcutt & Watson, 1986), content area ESOL (Echevarria, 1998; Echevarria & Graves, 1997; Chamot & O'Malley, 1989) or specially designed academic instruction in English (California State Department of Education, 1996). Language-minority students were taught English as they learned math. The key to this method was that English instruction was *comprehensible*—it was sensitive to students' English proficiency. In this respect, sheltered English immersion programs were an advancement over earlier "submersion" approaches that placed language minority students in general education classes with little or no support.

Immersion advocates believed that the greater the systematic exposure to English at school, the more likely students were to begin to use English spon-

taneously—both in conversations with peers and in academic interactions. The results of these programs appeared promising in both the elementary (Gersten, 1985; Gersten, Taylor, Woodward, & White, 1984) and secondary schools (Chamot & O'Malley, 1989). The early versions of English immersion tended to include little or no native language instruction—even for very young students (Gersten & Woodward, 1985). For this reason, many bilingual educators perceived immersion negatively (Crawford, 1989; Mackey, 1978).

Recognizing the validity of some of the concerns raised by critics of total English immersion, yet feeling strongly that English could and should be systematically introduced through academic instruction in language arts, math, and reading in the early grades, contemporary advocates of the immersion approach advocate a method that integrates second-language instruction with content-area materials. This approach, pioneered in El Paso, is sometimes called *bilingual immersion*. This approach retains the predominant focus on English language instruction from the immersion model but tempers it with a substantive, four-year Spanish language program so that students maintain their facility with their native language. The use of English language arts and reading instruction to foster the rapid acquisition of English language at both a conversational and conceptual level is a cornerstone in the evolution of bilingual immersion.

Research Findings on Models of Bilingual Education

Evaluations of bilingual education programs have always produced debate and uncertainty (August & Hakuta, 1997; Lam, 1992; Meyer & Fienburg, 1992). A good deal of uncertainty remains about the central question in bilingual education—*when* to introduce students to intensive English language academic instruction (Crawford, 1989; McLaughlin 1985). Some educators had hoped that the federally supported, large-scale evaluation study of numerous school districts throughout the country conducted by Ramirez et al. (1990), would resolve this issue. Unfortunately, the results were inconclusive.

Ramirez et al. (1990) attempted to determine the best time to move students into classes taught only in English, by comparing approaches that fell into the three categories described earlier:

a. Total Immersion;
b. Early-Exit; and
c. Late-Exit.

These researchers' five-year longitudinal evaluation involved a rich range of measures, including academic assessments in both English and Spanish, and

classroom observations documenting the language used for instruction. Ramirez found no significant differences between the three approaches. He did note, however that the *rate* of achievement growth on English language tests for students who had begun with extensive amounts of native language appeared high during their early years of English language instruction. He thus hypothesized that these students might surpass the other two groups, if the longitudinal evaluations had been extended.

Like many evaluations of its scope, the Ramirez et al. (1990) study had several serious flaws. The researchers were unable to compare sheltered English to transitional bilingual education as it is commonly practiced ("late exit") within the same district. In addition, they failed to assess achievement of immersion students in grades 5 and 6; only transitional bilingual education students were assessed at those grades. This is a crucial shortcoming, since equitable assessment of the effects of instructional programs over time is especially important in the area of language acquisition (August & Hakuta, 1997).

Discouraging and confusing as the lack of significant differences among programs may appear, such results have forced researchers to redefine research topics as well as to constrain and more clearly delineate the scope of bilingual investigation. The recent work of Cziko (1992) and August and Hakuta (1997) have yielded results of only limited interest.

The National Research Council (August & Hakuta, 1997) recently concluded that program evaluations in bilingual education typically suffer from such significant design flaws that conclusions about the effectiveness of different types of bilingual education programs are very difficult to discern. They argue for higher quality local evaluations.

In this regard, a good deal could be learned from exploratory *longitudinal* research conducted within one community in which different instructional models and underlying philosophies are reasonably well defined. Although in our experience such a situation is not easy to find, the El Paso, Texas, school district provides a unique opportunity for this type of research. Two well-defined but different models for educating language minority students have been widely implemented there for over ten years and were the focus of an earlier longitudinal evaluation study that tracked student performance through seventh grade.

One of the strengths of that evaluation is that because the study was conducted in just one district, it was possible to better understand the implementation of the different programs to such a degree that the results could be

published in a peer-reviewed journal (i.e., Gersten & Woodward, 1995), a point noted in the recent National Research Council (August & Hakuta, 1997) report.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE ORIGINAL STUDY

The purpose of the original longitudinal study was to examine the effects of two methods of bilingual education developed and used in the El Paso, Texas, school district: *transitional bilingual education* and *bilingual immersion*. Unlike Ramirez et al. (1990), we compared an immersion approach to a transitional bilingual education approach *within the same school district*, where resources, length of the school year, class size, and other relevant variables are similar. In addition, unlike students in the Ramirez sample, all of the students in our study began first grade as limited-English proficient.

The research reported in the original study (Gersten & Woodward, 1985; Gersten, Woodward, & Schneider, 1992) compares effects of transitional bilingual education and bilingual immersion on academic achievement over four years, from grades three through seven—three years longer than the Ramirez et al. (1990) study. By this time, all students in both programs had entered mainstream English instruction.

Transitional Bilingual Education Model

This relatively "late-exit" transitional bilingual education program began in 1970. Until 1984, it included all limited-English proficient students in the city (Teschner, 1990). During this period, the El Paso Independent School District had one of the largest transitional bilingual education programs in Texas and in the United States.

The El Paso program is consistent with the framework for transitional bilingual education described previously. Subject matter and concepts in all academic areas are initially taught in the student's primary language—i.e., Spanish. The goal is to develop skills and abilities in oral and written communication and reading comprehension in the student's primary language. This means that at beginning levels, students are taught in Spanish for the majority of the day. They learn to read in Spanish, learn math in Spanish, and later receive instruction in science and social studies in Spanish.

English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) instruction begins in first grade for about one hour a day. A natural language (Cummins, 1980) approach is utilized. The program initially focuses on functional and conversational English and then moves into the vocabulary concepts used in academic instruction.

Academic instruction in English begins gradually by the late second grade. When students' English skills have developed to a level where teachers think students can benefit from academic instruction in English, they begin the transitional phase of the program (formal reading instruction in English) and receive instruction in English during content-area classes. The goal is to teach academic content in English in such a way that instruction is comprehensible to students (Krashen, 1982). Typically, students do not begin all-English instruction until grades 4, 5, or 6.

El Paso Bilingual Immersion Program

In 1984, a group of educators in El Paso, Texas, developed an approach towards bilingual education that stresses English language instruction presented in the context of content instruction (e.g., reading and language arts, mathematics, social studies, and science). Bilingual immersion involves accelerating the introduction of English while maintaining some Spanish language instruction.

A group of teachers and members of the Latino community in El Paso felt that transitional bilingual education had failed to capitalize on students' burgeoning knowledge of the English language. Though hardly fluent in English, these students quickly acquired the rudiments of conversational English. After all, El Paso is a bilingual city, and its students learn English through television, radio, and what they hear in the community and at school. Also, because El Paso is a bilingual/bicultural city, many parents and teachers did not fear that an emphasis on English in the schools would threaten students' ethnic identity and self-concept.

The bilingual immersion program utilizes a range of instructional strategies to give students frequent exposure to ideas presented in the English language. In addition, the program provides students frequent opportunities to express their own ideas in English, both orally and in writing, and to learn English. The program intentionally introduces students to large units of language through an emphasis on children's literature. The range of English language-related experiences includes journal writing, semi-structured discussions about stories read by the entire class, and guided discussion of social studies concepts.

Students in the bilingual immersion program are not corrected when they ask or answer questions in Spanish during the English language portion of the day. However, during the English reading, language arts, and math lessons, the teacher makes every attempt to conduct the lesson in English. The teacher always speaks English. If a student's Spanish language responses alert the teacher to a problem, he or she uses a variety of techniques—concrete objects,

gestures, multiple explanations in English—to explain or clarify the concept in English.

A native language (Spanish) component lasts approximately ninety minutes a day in the first grade and is gradually reduced to thirty minutes in the fourth grade. During this period, instruction and student-teacher interaction are entirely in Spanish.

Methodology in the Original Study

Student sample. The seventh grade study comprised 111 students in the bilingual immersion sample and 117 students in the transitional bilingual education sample. These students were selected because they met the following criteria:

a. They were classified as having little or no knowledge of English upon beginning first grade (as assessed by a district-developed oral language assessment);
b. They began one of the district's two instructional programs for language-minority students in first grade and participated in the program for at least four years; and
c. They took the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills (ITBS) in the areas of language, reading, and mathematics.

Throughout the district where the study was conducted, eighteen schools were implementing transitional bilingual education and nineteen schools were implementing bilingual immersion. Decisions about which of the two programs to implement were made by the school principal in consultation with the faculty.

Schools were selected to participate in the longitudinal study by the district research office. Ten schools in the district with large proportions of English-language learners were selected; five of the schools implemented bilingual immersion, and five implemented transitional bilingual education. All of the schools served low income families; over 93 percent of the students in the study received free or reduced lunch. Student outcome data were collected between 1985 and 1991.

Achievement measures. The major outcome measure in the original study was achievement on the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills (ITBS) in grades 4, 5, 6, and 7. During these four years students spent most of their school day in English language instruction. Prior to the fourth grade, comparisons between students in the two conditions were not made because students spent very different

amounts of time in English language instruction. Beginning in grade 4, the district routinely tested all second language students, except for recent immigrants, on the ITBS in English.

Results of the Original Study

Student achievement from fourth to seventh grade. Results of the original longitudinal analyses are presented in Table 1. Two by four analyses of covariance were performed on ITBS scores at each grade for language and reading, with entry English proficiency scores used as a covariance.

Normal curve equivalent (NCE) scores on the ITBS were utilized for the analyses of covariance. The mean NCE scores were then converted to percentile ranks.

The 2 x 4 analysis of covariance on ITBS *Language* showed a significant interaction [$F_{(3, 732)} = 15.12$; $p < .001$]. Because of the presence of interaction, analyses of simple effects were conducted. These revealed significant differences between programs for grades 4, 5, and 6, favoring the bilingual immersion approach:

1. Grade 4, $F_{(1, 225) = 27.37;}$ $p < .001$;
2. Grade 5, $F_{(1, 225) = 8.03;}$ $p < .005$; and
3. Grade 6, $F_{(1, 225) = 3.96;}$ $p < .05$.

The difference for grade 7 was not significant. The 2 x 4 analysis of covariance for reading revealed a significant main effect for type of program $F_{(1, 243)} = 4.70$; $p < .05$. Although the interaction was not significant, the magnitude of the difference in grades 6 and 7 is substantially less than in grades 4 and 5.

Overall, the data in Table 1 showed a consistent pattern. In the fourth grade, bilingual immersion students demonstrated superior performance in all areas of academic performance assessed. Over time, differences between the two groups decreased. This pattern was not surprising since unlike the bilingual immersion students who began English full-day language instruction in grade 3 or 4, most of the transition students did not begin English instruction until grade 5 or 6. This is when the greatest gain would be expected (see, for example, Ramirez, 1992).

Rate of entry into mainstream classes. In spring of 1990, when students were in the sixth grade, 65 percent of the transitional bilingual students were in mainstream classes, whereas 99 percent of the sixth graders who had been in the bilingual immersion program were in mainstream classes. This difference was statistically significant ($c^2 = 46.3$; $p<.001$). In other words, students in the bilin-

Table 1
Scores from Grades 4 through 7 (in Normal Curve Equivalence Units) for Immersion and Transitional Students on Iowa Tests of Basic Skills

	Bilingual Immersion (N = 111)			Transitional Bilingual Education (N = 117)		
Grade	M	SD	Percentile	M	SD	Percentile
			Total Language			
4	46.52	15.40	44	36.12	13.97	26
5	43.97	14.73	39	38.52	14.20	30
6	43.19	15.09	37	39.22	15.55	30
7	44.36	16.91	39	43.23	15.74	37
			Total Reading			
4	32.21	12.71	20	28.3	12.67	15
5	33.01	12.27	21	30.47	14.12	17
6	33.59	13.6	23	32.79	14.63	21
7	34.65	14.22	24	33.49	14.68	21

Note: Covariance-adjusted mean scores are used throughout the table.

gual immersion program entered the mainstream significantly more rapidly than students in the transitional bilingual program.

The Follow-up Evaluation of High School Achievement

The purpose of the present study was to determine whether there were differences in reading, math, and writing performance of English language learners in high school who had received instruction in a transitional bilingual education program during the first four years of school versus English language learners who received instruction in a bilingual immersion program during the same period. Data were collected from 1994 to 1996.

Students in the Follow-up Evaluation

In the current evaluation there were eighty-nine students in the bilingual immersion program (BIP), and eighty-six students in the transitional bilingual education program (TBE). All of these students were included in the original study (which included 111 students in the bilingual immersion program and 117 students in the transitional bilingual education program). Thus, there was a 19.8 percent attrition rate in the bilingual immersion sample and 26.5 percent attrition in the transitional bilingual education sample. Both of these rates are small for a longitudinal study. Attrition was due to a variety of reasons,

including moving out of the district, failure to complete high school, and or absences during test periods.

The two groups contained similar proportions of male and female students. The number of males was slightly greater in each group (55 percent in bilingual immersion and 56 percent in transitional bilingual education). In the bilingual immersion group, 73 percent of the students were eligible for free lunches and 12 percent of the students were eligible for reduced lunches. The numbers of students in the transitional bilingual education program who were eligible for free and reduced-cost lunches were 91 percent and 8 percent, respectively.

Measures

Three years of achievement data from the *Texas Assessment of Academic Skills* (TAAS) were obtained for the same cohort of students for years in which they would be projected to be in grades 10 through 12. Multiple years were collected since students take the TAAS subtests until they reach mastery criterion in each content area. Data received from the El Paso school district included the achievement scores and demographic descriptors.

Every student in the state of Texas is required to obtain a passing Texas Learning Index (TLI) score on the exit-level TAAS to receive a high school diploma and graduate. The TLI assesses student performance in reading and math.

We also analyzed two writing measures on the TAAS. One measure is a multiple choice writing test that assesses primarily language conventions (i.e., spelling and punctuation). We used the number of items answered correctly in data analysis. A second measure assesses writing quality. A four-point scale is used to assess important dimensions of writing such as organization of ideas and use of writing conventions. Inter-rater reliability for the rating was .65.

Because of the importance of the test, we felt the TAAS represented the best source available to analyze differences between English-language learners in the bilingual immersion and transitional bilingual education programs. Because all students are required to take the TAAS until they pass it, the likelihood is high that there would be as many students as possible in the sample. Also, because of the importance of the test, there is a strong incentive for them to do their best.

Scoring Metric Used

The TLI is anchored at the exit-level passing standard, which is a score of 70 (with a standard deviation of 15) on both the reading and math sections. Students are required to take the exit-level TAAS for the first time at the end of

tenth grade and are required to take the TAAS at every offered administration until they receive a passing score. The TAAS is administered multiple times from the end of the tenth grade until the end of the twelfth grade.

All TAAS results are described in terms of the highest score students attained over multiple administrations of the test beginning in the spring of 1994.

Data Analysis

Data were analyzed using the statistical analysis package, *SPSS 6.1 for the Macintosh.* Between groups analyses were conducted using t-tests for independent samples to compare performance of students in the bilingual immersion program to the performance of students in the transitional bilingual education program. All *p*-values are two-tail because we had no expectation that one program would result in superior performance over the other.

Primary analysis compared the groups on the highest score each student achieved across the three years of the TAAS administration. This analysis includes data for students in both groups who had been retained for one of two years prior to the tenth grade, and thus allows for participation in the sample of the greatest number of students with differential exposure to the two instructional approaches.

The differences between students in bilingual immersion group and students in the transitional bilingual education group were compared on a number of achievement dimensions. In terms of academic achievement, comparisons were made on standardized, multiple-choice tests in reading, math, and writing. A qualitative measure of student writing is also used to compare differences between the groups. Metrics for the analysis include standard scores, raw scores, NCEs and percentile ranks. The percentage of students in each group who met the minimum required standards for high school graduation in these academic areas are also analyzed.

Overall grade point averages were examined to compare differences between the groups. Finally, percentile rank scores were analyzed to determine how well students in each of the two groups did compared to students throughout the state of Texas.

RESULTS

Sample Demographics

Because of slight discrepancies in sample demographics, we conducted exploratory analyses to examine the possible influence of the demographic vari-

ables on high school achievement. We conducted three point-biserial correlational analyses where students were coded on each of three demographic variables: free lunch status (free or reduced vs. ineligible for program), country of birth (Mexico vs. United States or other), and student gender (male vs. female). These binary variables were then correlated with reading, math, and writing scores for the combined groups of students.

Results indicated that only one of these variables was a significant predictor of subsequent academic performance. The only variable with a significant correlation was gender. Since the ratio of males to females was equivalent between the groups, achievement differences by gender do not create problems in the program analysis. In other words, for all intents and purposes, the two samples are equivalent on salient demographic variables. Thus, there is no evidence that the slight discrepancies in demographic characteristics had a confounding influence on results.

Achievement Results

Tables 2 through 5 present comparisons of achievement test scores and grade point average for the two groups of students. As can be seen in Table 2, there are no significant differences between the groups on reading, math, or multiple choice writing measures. Only on the global score for written composition was a significant effect found. Students in the transitional bilingual education group scored significantly higher than students in the bilingual immersion group ($t = -2.06$, $p = .04$). It is important to note, however, that the reliability value of .65 for this measure is lower than desirable for measures of intervention effects, and the magnitude of the effect is quite small.

A measure of effect size (Glass, McGaw, & Smith, 1981) also provides an indication of differences between groups in terms of standard deviation units. The effect sizes indicate that the differences between the groups are small. Generally, magnitude of effects below .20 are considered very small and not relevant educationally. Only one effect is above .20. The written composition effect size was .35, which is typically considered to be a modest effect.

In reading, the average score of approximately seventy is at the level needed for students to pass the TAAS in reading. In terms of normative performance, this places performance at about the forty-fourth percentile. In math, student average performance is slightly below what is needed to pass the TAAS. It must be remembered that most students take the TAAS multiple times and we have recorded the student's highest score regardless of how many times the student has taken the test.

Table 2
Group Means Based on Each Student's Highest Score on the Texas Assessment of Academic Skills from up to Three Administrations (1994, 1995, 1996)*

	Bilingual Immersion (N =75**)		Transitional Bilingual Education (N =72)				
TAAS Sub-test	M	SD	M	SD	t	p	Δ
Reading (in TLI units)	71.97	13.89	70.89	13.89	.50	.62	.08
Math (in TLI units)	65.29	13.06	67.21	14.36	−.85	.40	−.13
Writing Multiple Choice (raw scores)	29.71	4.92	29.78	5.05	−.09	.93	−.01
Writing Composition (4 point rating)	2.11	.65	2.32	.60	−2.06	.04	−.35

Notes: * Students were required to take the TAAS until they passed. Thus, each student had the opportunity to take the test multiple times. The score used in data analysis was each student's highest score during the course of up to three administrations of the test, from 1994 to 1996.

** N= 76 for math only.

Table 3
Percentage of Students Meeting Minimum Expectations in Reading, Math, and Writing across Three Years of Administration of the Texas Assessment of Academic Skills (1994, 1995, 1996)

	Bilingual Immersion (N =80)	Transitional Bilingual Education (N =77)	t	p	Δ
Reading	68%	61%	.84	.40	.14
Math	45%	45%	.06	.96	ϕ
Writing	59%	66%	−.96	.34	−.14

Note: A similar finding emerges in the comparison of overall student grade point average, which is presented in Table 4. None of the differences between students in the bilingual immersion group versus students in the transitional bilingual education group during the years 1994, 1995, or 1996 was statistically significant.

Table 3 shows the percentage of students in each group who achieved the minimum scores necessary to pass the TAAS. As the data indicate, the percentages are quite comparable between the groups and none of the differences is statistically significant.

Table 5 presents percentile ranks for both groups for highest Reading and Math Texas Learning Indices relative to other students in Texas. Percentile rankings for both groups are approximately equal in reading, at about the thirtieth percentile. In math, the bilingual immersion group is at the 36.4th percentile while the transitional bilingual education group is at the 42.9th percentile. This difference is not statistically significant.

DISCUSSION

This evaluation represents the second longitudinal study assessing the impact on academic outcomes of two different bilingual education programs that students participated in during grades 1 through 4. The first evaluation was conducted at the end of grade 7, and examined achievement patterns of students in reading and language in the spring of grades 4, 5, 6, and 7. Overall, the results tend to favor students in the bilingual immersion group over the transitional bilingual education group in grades 4, 5, and 6. In grade 7, there was only a very small difference between the groups on a standardized measure of reading comprehension.

The present evaluation was conducted to determine whether there were effects on high school achievement that could be attributed to the type of instructional program received in grades 1 through 4.

The results showed no consistent differences between the bilingual immersion and the transitional bilingual education groups, and there was no discernible trend in the data suggesting the possibility of differences in patterns of achievement over time. The effect sizes for the comparisons sometimes favored the bilingual immersion group, sometimes the transitional bilingual education group, and in all cases but one the effect sizes were very small ($< .20$) and educationally insignificant.

In one assessment area, writing composition, the results were significantly larger for students in the transitional bilingual education group. On the 1 to 4 rating scale, students in the transitional bilingual education group had a mean of 2.32. Students in the bilingual immersion group had a mean of 2.11. The effect size was small (.21 points of .35 standard deviation units) and the reliability of the measure, at .65, was sufficiently low to interpret the difference cautiously.

Table 4
Comparison of Grade Point Average (out of 100 possible points) in 1994, 1995, and 1996

	Bilingual Immersion			Transitional Bilingual Education					
	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	*t*	*p*	Δ
1994 GPA	84	76.0	11.35	79	77.8	11.13	−1.04	.30	−.16
1995 GPA	89	76.3	9.17	86	76.6	13.14	−.22	.83	−.02
1996 GPA	67	80.0	8.27	62	78.7	16.46	.57	.57	.08

Table 5
Normal Curve Equivalents and Percentile Ranks for Students' Highest Reading and Math TLI Scores across Three Years of the Texas Assessment of Academic Skills (1994, 1995, and 1996)

	Bilingual Immersion			Transitional Bilingual Education		
	Mean NCE	SD	percentile	Mean NCE	SD	percentile
Reading Texas Learning Index	39.3	12.9	30.6	39.1	15.6	30.2
Math Texas Learning Index	42.8	16.6	36.4	46.3	19.2	42.9

ISSUES RELATED TO EVALUATING PROGRAMS FOR ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNERS

Impact of Time on Evaluation

The current evaluation raises an essential question for research and evaluation of bilingual education programs. After different programs "end," when should their effectiveness be evaluated? For example, unlike Ramirez et al. (1990, 1992), we were able not only to compare contrasting models within the same district, but to also track students into high school after they left the program in grade 4. Had our longitudinal evaluation ended at grade 5, as did the Ramirez et al. (1990) study, a different, and entirely incorrect, conclusion might have been drawn—that bilingual immersion was superior to transitional bilingual education. Instead, a strict interpretation of our longitudinal comparison of seventh grade and high school achievement indicates

that bilingual immersion and transitional bilingual education are equally viable options.

In terms of overall achievement, Ramirez (1992) found no significant differences between the bilingual immersion, early-exit, and late-exit approaches to bilingual education. He noted, however, that the achievement growth for students who had begun with extensive amounts of native language instruction appeared higher than it was for students in the other groups. He hypothesized that the students who received more native language instruction might eventually surpass the other two groups, especially if the longitudinal evaluations were extended.

This hypothesis has been suggested by other researchers as one of the most important long-term benefits of native language instruction for English language learners. Ramirez (1992), for example, presents what he refers to as the Trajectory Analysis of Matched Percentiles, in which he attempts to determine if the learning rates eventually become higher for English language learners who receive more native language instruction.

Ramirez et al. (1990) comes to the following conclusions:

> A consistent pattern seems to be emerging in the Trajectory Analysis of Matched Percentiles figures. It appears that students who were provided with a substantial and consistent primary language development program learned mathematics, English language, and English reading skills as fast as or faster than the norming population used in this study [i.e., the normative sample on the CTBS]. As their growth in these academic skills is atypical of disadvantaged youth, it provides support for the efficacy of primary language development in facilitating the acquisition of English language skills. (pp. 38–39)

He notes that when instructional programs for English language learners "are examined more closely, it appears that those sites that provided their students with the most primary language instruction consistently grew faster than the norming population" (Ramirez 1990, V l. II, p. 641; Rossell, 1992).

Baker (1992) points out that this conclusion is somewhat misleading because it is equally plausible that students in bilingual programs who receive more years of heavy native language instruction may be playing "catch up" compared to bilingual immersion students. In other words, students in bilingual programs with the most extensive native language instruction fall well behind bilingual immersion students through the third grade and have to play catch up after that point. Baker points out in this alternative interpretation

that, "the data available does not make it possible to determine if they ever do overcome the handicap they appear to have acquired during the first three years of the late-exit program" (p. 66).

Large increases in English language achievement test scores for students during their first two years of English language instruction are common; invariably students then reach a plateau. This phenomenon seems due to the fact that students are becoming familiar with the form of English language in which the test is written, and the type of language used in the items (Baker & de Kanter, 1983; Cziko, 1992; Gersten et al., 1984). To date, there is no evidence of continued acceleration after this initial two-year period, particularly when one looks at the overall scores.

By the second or third year of all English instruction, students are able to adequately read the test and demonstrate their knowledge of mathematics, language conventions, and reading. Rossell (1992) has also made this point, arguing that during the first couple of years of English language assessment, "limited-English proficient students are supposed to make large gains relative to the English monolingual population norm because they are starting from a point where they have low scores because they know little English" (p. 181). This is a phenomenon that we found in earlier work (Gersten & Woodward, 1992).

The high school El Paso longitudinal data from the present evaluation also support this view and provide no evidence to support the Trajectory Analysis of Matched Percentiles hypothesis on reading, math, or language conventions.

Overall Level of Performance

The data do indicate, however, that both programs—at least as measured by the ITBS and the Texas Learning Index (TLI)—are failing many children in the areas of reading comprehension, language, and math. The mean seventh-grade scores on the ITBS correspond to the twenty-fourth percentile for bilingual immersion and twenty-first for transitional bilingual education students in reading comprehension. The average score on the TAAS is only at the minimum level needed to graduate from high school, despite the fact that students took the test repeatedly beginning in 1994, and we used their highest score in data analysis.

The data suggest that as many as half of the English language learners in both groups may not have the reading and math skills necessary to meet the minimum standards for graduation from high school. In general, low-socioeconomic strata minority students in the U.S. achieve at levels considerably lower

than their middle-class peers (Becker & Gersten, 1982; De La Rosa & Maw, 1990; Pallas, Natriello, & McDill, 1989). This problem is not unique to El Paso, and much more work is needed in reforming and restructuring the middle and high school curriculum for minority students (Chamot, 1997; George, Stevenson, Thomas, & Beane, 1992).

Instructional Approach

Another possible issue in the low achievement of students in both groups relates to the long-term effects of the specific type of approach used to teach beginning reading. The bilingual immersion approach relied heavily on the use of whole language to teach beginning reading—de-emphasizing decoding and emphasizing the literary aspects of children's literature. Critics of whole language approaches have argued that this approach is insufficient to meet the needs of beginning readers, especially those students who are most at-risk of reading failure.

We recently examined the literature to identify components of effective instruction in bilingual education, regardless of the language of instruction, and were surprised by how few empirical studies there were on the topic (Gersten, Baker, Marks, & Smith, 1997). Our exhaustive search identified only 8 studies conducted between 1985 and 1996 that used experimental or quasi-experimental designs to explore the impact of instructional variables on student learning for English language learners in grades K-8. The National Research Council (August & Hakuta, 1997) also found very few studies addressing components of effective instruction for English language learners. This is clearly a pressing need.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

The lack of significant differences between the two programs in middle and high school achievement supports increased choice and experimentation by teachers and administrators, based on their experiences, the realities of their communities, and the preference of community members. Our results raise questions concerning the assertion of Wong-Fillmore and Valdez (1986) and others that meaningful literacy instruction in English can not begin until students have experienced many years of native language instruction. A decade ago, Barrera (1984), a noted bilingual educator, observed:

> ...the beginning of second-language reading can be a natural, learner-initiated, and learner-controlled occurrence when children approach reading as a desirable, useful, and meaningful activity.... [S]econd-language reading can commence soon after native language reading begins, or de-

> velop virtually alongside it, as long as the learner is making sense of the written language he or she encounters. (p. 170)

The findings of this evaluation continue to indicate that experimentation with various approaches should be encouraged. As Cziko (1992) noted, "knowledge that a number of alternative approaches can be effective in educating language minority students provides those responsible for educating our children with the freedom to choose programs that are consistent with the goals, values, and resources of the local community" (p. 15).

The goal of building competence in English without unduly frustrating students requires a complex balance between utilization of the native language and the language to be acquired. More research needs to be done to isolate, document, and understand practices that enhance comprehension and cognitive growth.

The recent report by the National Academy of Sciences on bilingual education concludes that "local evaluation efforts" should be addressed, in large part, by using both qualitative and quantitative methods to fine tune the effectiveness of services provided. In this sense, the El Paso Independent School District has been exemplary. A well-controlled outcome evaluation of its innovative approach to bilingual education was begun in 1984. Qualitative studies were done to identify exemplary practice (Schneider, 1990) and the district provided a context for federal research describing parameters of effective practice (Gersten, 1996 a, b).

Too often, social scientists search for significant differences among instructional approaches. The original longitudinal evaluation generally produced a lack of significant differences in achievement test scores by the seventh grade in all areas but reading, where the effect was small. A lack of significant achievement differences characterized the groups in high school as well, in all areas except writing composition, where there was a small difference favoring transitional bilingual education.

After considering the results of the outcome evaluation, that neither approach seemed to lead to significantly better achievement growth in high school, the district began to experiment with combining the best features of both approaches. The data continue to suggest that there is no particular harm in the approach with which El Paso has been experimenting since 1984. In this approach, students are introduced early (often in first grade) to content area instruction in English for as long as two and one-half hours per day.

As in all quasi-experimental designs, there may be some other unmeasured variables that affect relative patterns of performance. However, the fact that the students in this evaluation came from similar socioeconomic backgrounds, had similar English language proficiency scores at entry, and that the rates of attrition over time did not impact the two groups of students on key outcome variables differentially supports the validity of the findings.

For these reasons, the findings hold important implications for the field of bilingual education. In particular, these findings fail to support the widely held belief that increased native language instruction throughout the seven years of elementary school will lead to better long term outcomes than a much more rapid introduction of English language instruction. For that reason, we urge policymakers to seriously question their investment in an approach that has no empirical support.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Portions of the text were adapted from Gerten and Woodward (1995) and Gersten, Woodward, and Schneidner (1992). We wish to express our appreciation to Art Jordan for assistance in data collection.

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Two Activists in Anaheim, California, Speak Out

Preface

Rosalie Pedalino Porter, Ed. D.

The two articles that follow are both based on efforts to bring about educational improvements for limited-English students in the public schools of Anaheim, California. Harald Martin and Cathy Liska describe the resistance their efforts faced from administrators in this urban school district which enrolls thousands of limited-English students, mostly Spanish-speaking but with a substantial number of speakers of Vietnamese, Korean, and Filipino languages.

On learning that limited-English proficient (LEP) students in Anaheim were not making reasonable progress in learning the English language and moving into mainstream classrooms, Martin decided to collect data on similar students in ten nearby school districts. After years of effort to overcome administrators' obstructions and delays, he found the factual data that led to these major conclusions: Spanish-speaking LEP students are mostly enrolled in long-term native language instruction programs and have the lowest success rate in becoming fluent English proficient students; speakers of other languages are mostly enrolled in special English language teaching programs and the number of students acquiring English proficiency for regular classroom work is two to three times that of Spanish speakers. Martin's efforts to direct Board policy decisions on the basis of hard facts have received a less than enthusiastic response so far, but he continues his active campaign on behalf of LEP students.

Cathy Liska enlisted the support of her colleagues to retain the successful English language teaching program in the elementary school where she has been a teacher for twenty-five years, after an arbitrary decision was announced, without staff consideration, that the school would begin a native language instruction program. Liska then led a district-wide movement that received strong support from her fellow teachers. They demanded that the district follow California laws and regulations that require parents of LEP students to be

given a choice of native language or English language instruction for their children at the time of school enrollment. Liska's challenges to school administrators took years to reach even partial resolutions and eventually involved not only Anaheim administrators but state officials and the federal Office of Civil Rights in the U.S. Department of Education.

A School Board Member's Efforts

Harald G. Martin

When I was first elected to the Anaheim Union High School District Board of Trustees in 1994, I was very interested in the education of limited-English students, especially in the "native language" instruction issue. I began to explore the pros and cons of the issue by reading dozens of studies and, quite frankly, I was confused. There were a number of studies that indicated bilingual education (meaning native language instruction) was the best method to use. Then there were those studies that indicated an English immersion approach was best. And there were those studies that hedged their bets and said it was a toss-up as to which method succeeded most.

This confusion led me to ask a lot of questions, and I stumbled upon a data collection document used by the California Department of Education called the R30-LC. This form is used by school districts throughout the state to report on the re-designation of Limited-English Proficient (LEP) students. Annually, those students who have not yet learned English well enough to do regular classroom work in English remain classified as LEP, while those who are judged proficient in English are re-designated as Fluent English Proficient (FEP).

At this point I was literally staggered by what I learned. As a member of the high school board of trustees, I received information showing that there was a great deal of inconsistency in how many students were being re-designated. In 1993, 5.21 percent of the LEP students were re-designated as FEP. While in 1994 the number dropped to 3.48 percent and in 1995 it jumped to 9.72 percent. This was with a limited-English student population ranging from 7,344 to 8,133 students during those years. So, over the course of three years the district had an average rate of a little over 6 percent of its limited-English students being re-designated as fluent. I was positive that this low number had to be some kind of aberration. This was a 94 percent failure rate as far as I was concerned and there was no way that it could be allowed to continue.

I began to do more homework. I selected another eleven nearby school districts and asked for copies of their R30-LC reports. Some districts complied immediately without a hint of reservation. Others had a great deal of reluctance to share those reports with me. Eventually, I had to send my requests

worded in such a manner that I would be utilizing the "Freedom of Information Act" (which a newspaper reporter was more than happy to explain to me). The Anaheim City School District (elementary schools, K–6) was the only district that did not comply with my request until I sent a letter requesting the information under the "Freedom of Information Act." After a few months of wrangling with the districts, I got all of the information and began doing data entry into my computer on a school by school basis for each of those eleven districts. Over a three-year period, an average of only 3.96 percent of the LEP students were re-designated as FEP. (See appendix A for details on the districts and data involved.)

Again, I couldn't believe what I was seeing. I had originally thought that Anaheim was doing a terrible job in re-designating students, but by regional standards it was doing fairly well. I called the California Department of Education and learned that a 4 percent re-designation rate was about the average for the state. Doing a bit of simple math, if only 4 percent of the students on average were being re-designated as FEP each year, we would end up with only 52 percent of the Limited-English Proficient students having learned enough English to be considered fluent after thirteen years of schooling from Kindergarten through grade 12.

These figures, on their face, were (and still are) shocking. But there is another story wrapped within this enigma. There were a great variety of programs that were being used to teach LEP students within these districts, and I wanted to take my study a step further. Considering that the overall results were so terrible, I wondered if there was any significant difference between the re-designation rates of children based on the language they spoke. After significant observation of students and discussions with teachers, I had a strong suspicion that the re-designation rates for Spanish speaking students would be lower than those for LEP students who spoke some other language. (By this time a little more than two years had passed, and I had also just been elected to the Anaheim City School District Board of Trustees. I'm still not sure why I ran for the elementary board. Perhaps it was my belief that education does not start in the seventh grade and that if I really wanted to get at the root of the problem, I would have to start at the beginning.)

My fellow board members (elementary school level) did not take kindly to the fact that I was constantly prodding them to look at the facts involved in this issue. After having gone over the most recent data in the R30-LC reports, I asked if staff could cull out information in regards to re-designations of limited-English students *by language*. I learned that this kind of data was not taken from the R30-LC reports, nor could it be done without some intensive work

by staff. My fellow board members felt that this would be a waste of staff time, and, as a board, they refused to have staff go any further in providing that information to me. Needless to say, I was quite disturbed by this failure to get at the truth of the matter.

In the Anaheim City School District there is a very strong preference for "native language" instruction for children from Spanish-speaking backgrounds. However, there are over forty other "native languages" spoken in the district, but all of those students are taught in English. I really wanted to know how well LEP students who spoke a language other than Spanish were doing as compared to our Spanish LEP students. For the moment, at least at the elementary school level, I was stymied.

At the high school level I got a very different response. I had just been voted in as the Board President and during one of my regular meetings with Dr. Janice Billings, the high school district Superintendent, I told her of my idea to separate out the non-Spanish speaking LEP students from the Spanish-speaking LEP students. I wanted to see what the re-designation rates were for other language groups. At the high school level we have over sixty languages spoken, and most of these students are taught in English. We do have significantly more Spanish-speaking LEP students, and there are a variety of strategies used for these students, including a very small contingent of classes that are taught exclusively in Spanish.

Within a couple of weeks, high school district staff provided me with a complete list of information, on a school by school basis, regarding the re-designation rates of students broken down by language. Again, I went back to my computer and began entering the data into my computer spread sheet program. I found just what I had expected to see. Students who spoke a language other than Spanish were being re-designated more rapidly than those whose home language was Spanish (see Tables 1–1.2).

In looking at the data, it was clear that students who spoke a language other than Spanish were progressing more rapidly in their knowledge of English. At the junior high level, students who spoke a language other than Spanish were 376 percent more likely to be re-designated as FEP. At the high school level that number dropped dramatically to only 122 percent. However, many LEP students had been in the programs for so long that no progress was being made, and they were being lost in the shuffle. Many LEP students were moving into alternative education programs because they could not deal with the demands of the comprehensive high school setting. There were many positives about the revelation of this data that made me very happy to be associ-

Table 1
Anaheim Union High School District: LEP Re-designations
(District Re-designations: Totals by Language)

	1 Total LEP	2 Number Redesignated	3 Percentage Redesignated	4 District Redesignation Total by Language	5 Percent of District LEP by Language	6 Weighted Average (WA)	7 Spanish vs. Other Language Redesignation
District	8206	681	8.30%	100.00%	100.00%	%L%R	WASpanish/ WALang
Spanish	6663	437	6.55%	64.10%	81.20%	1.2667	**1.00**
Vietnamese	487	76	15.52%	11.10%	5.93%	0.5347	**2.37**
Korean	251	35	13.84%	5.10%	3.06%	0.5998	**2.11**
Tagalog	144	31	21.28%	4.50%	1.75%	0.3900	**3.25**
Other	661	104	15.66%	15.20%	8.06%	0.5299	**2.39**
TTL Non-Spanish	1543	244	15.84%	35.90%	18.80%	0.5238	**2.42**

Table 1.1
High School Recap of Re-designations*

	1 Total LEP	2 Number Redesignated	3 Percentage Redesignated	4 District Redesignation Total by Language	5 Percent of District LEP by Language	6 Weighted Average (WA)	7 Spanish vs. Other Language Redesignation
Totals	4935	428	8.67%	100.00%	100.00%	%L%R	WASpanish WALang
Spanish	3593	294	8.18%	68.66%	72.81%	1.0604	**1.00**
Other than Spanish	1342	134	9.99%	31.34%	27.19%	0.8678	**1.22**

Table 1.2
Junior High School Recap of Re-designations

	1 Total LEP	2 Number Redesignated	3 Percentage Redesignated	4 District Redesignation Total by Language	5 Percent of District LEP by Language	6 Weighted Average (WA)	7 Spanish vs. Other Language Redesignation
Totals	3046	248	8.14	100.00%	100.00%	%L%R	WASpanish/ WALang
Spanish	2534	141	5.56%	56.85%	83.19%	1.4632	**1.00**
Other than Spanish	512	107	20.90%	43.15%	16.81%	0.3896	**3.76**

Notes: * Excluding Polaris & Hope Schools / 225 LEP students (special ed).
Columns #1 & #2 are self-explanatory. Column # 3 is derived by the formula: Column #2 / Column #1 to get the percentage; Column # 4 is derived by Language # in Column #2 / total number re-designated in Column #2; Column # 5 is derived by Language # in Column #1 / total number LEP; Column # 6 is derived by Column #5 / Column #4 to get a weighted average; and Column # 7 is derived by the weighted average of Spanish / weighted average of other language = ratio.

ated with the Anaheim high school district. Assistant Superintendent Jock Fisher began to look even deeper than I had requested. He began making recommendations that would keep closer tabs on students and require a more stringent accountability standard for how data is collected and tracked, the end result being that by understanding this information the Board of Trustees could make adjustments to the educational program to obtain better academic results for our Spanish-speaking LEP students.

Looking at the junior high school data, I was concerned that the Spanish-speaking LEP students coming from the elementary schools in the districts were far behind other students. By this time I had been able to obtain information from the Anaheim City School District regarding the re-designation of students by language (I am precluded from revealing how I got this information).

Back at my trusty computer (by this time we were great friends, considering the time I was spending at the keyboard), I entered the data, and it also revealed a marked discrepancy between the re-designation of Spanish-speaking LEP students when compared to LEP students of other language backgrounds. On average, non-Spanish speaking LEP students were being redesignated at a rate 262 percent higher than those who spoke Spanish, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2
Anaheim City School District: LEP Re-designations
(District Re-designations: Totals by Language)

	1 Total LEP	2 Number Redesignated	3 Percentage Redesignated	4 District Redesignation Total by Language	5 Percent of District LEP by Language	6 Weighted Average (WA)	7 Spanish vs. Other Language Redesignation
District Wide	11833	975	8.24	100.00%	100.00%	%L%R	**WASpanish WALang**
Spanish	11056	826	7.47%	84.72%	93.43%	1.1029	**1.00**
Vietnamese	323	57	17.65%	5.85%	2.73%	0.4669	**2.36**
Korean	54	15	27.78%	1.54%	0.46%	0.2966	**3.72**
Tagalog	63	9	14.29%	0.92%	0.53%	0.5768	**1.91**
Lao	55	10	18.18%	1.03%	0.46%	0.4532	**2.43**
Other TTL	282	61	21.63%	6.62%	2.38%	0.3809	**2.90**
Non-Spanish	777	152	19.56%	15.59%	6.57%	0.4212	**2.62**

Notes: Column #1: self-explanatory; Column #2: self-explanatory; Column #3: Column #2 / Column #1 to get percentage; Column #4: Language # in column #2 / Total Number Re-designated in Column #2, i.e. (826 / 975 = 84.72 percent); Column #5: Language # in column #1 / Total Number LEP, i.e. (11,056 / 11,833 = 93.43 percent); Column #6: Column #5 / column #4 to get a weighted average; and Column #7: Weighted average of Spanish / weighted average of other language = ratio.

This chart shows that if you are a LEP student in a language other than Spanish, you are 262 percent more likely to be redesignated than if you are a Spanish-speaking LEP child.

I was beginning to think I had found the Holy Grail. I had hard factual data that showed our educational programs were not working as well for Spanish-speaking children as they were for children who spoke other languages. I wanted to make sure that I had more evidence than just two school districts to support my conclusion, so I widened my inquiry to include those school districts that I had approached earlier.

I began by calling several board members of these districts and asked if they could help provide the R30-LC data for me separated out by language. What I got in return was a couple of phone calls saying that the districts did not look at that kind of data and that it was not available. They would, however, be happy to send me the R30-LC reports. Unfortunately, it is impossible to separate out the re-designations based solely on the information provided on the R30-LC report. Only the totals for all re-designations are provided, and there is no way to break out the re-designations by language. It does require staff to do a hand search of those who have been re-designated.

I then began calling district superintendents to see if I could interest them in a study of this information. Only one superintendent expressed any interest in this research. The others shunted me from one administrator to another. There was a great deal of reluctance to provide me with any information other than the R30-LC reports.

I wrote follow-up letters in which I revealed the information I had learned from my study of all the Anaheim district schools, K–12. The responses I got ranged from no answer at all to additional copies of the R30-LC reports being sent to me, "in the hope that this will provide the information I was looking for." I did get an interesting phone call from one particular district. The staff member who called me asked for a more detailed explanation of what I wanted because there was some confusion as to what I had requested. Upon explaining what I had been working on and what I was asking for, it became quite clear that the district had no intention of providing the information that I had requested. The staff member must have recalled my previous letters in regards to the "Freedom of Information Act" and struck a preemptive blow by stating, "...and since this is not a form that this district uses, we are not compelled by the 'Freedom of Information Act' to provide you with that information or to create any forms for you." I had spent over three months trying to get this information, and I was striking out.

Dr. Ronald N. Walter, the Superintendent of the Garden Grove Unified School District, was the only person to provide me with the information (presented in Table 3) I had requested. He also felt that this type of information would be

Table 3
Garden Grove Unified School District: LEP Re-designations
(District Re-designations: Totals by Language)
March 1997

	1 Total LEP	2 Number Redesignated	3 Percentage Redesignated	4 District Redesignation Total by Language	5 Percent of District LEP by Language	6 Weighted Average (WA)	7 Spanish vs. Other Language Redesignation
District Wide	20965	892	4.25%	100.00%	100.00%	%L%R	**WASpanish WALang**
Spanish	12569	288	2.29%	32.29%	59.95%	1.8569	**1.00**
Vietnamese	6629	468	7.06%	52.47%	31.62%	0.6027	**3.08**
Korean	449	50	11.14%	5.61%	2.14%	0.3821	**4.86**
Other	1339	86	6.42%	9.64%	6.39	0.6624	**2.80**
TTL Non-Spanish	8417	604	7.18%	67.71%	40.15%	0.5929	**3.13**

useful to examine to see what impact it might have on the instructional programs in his district.

Dr. Walter also sent information to me indicating that, "Of the above groups of LEP students, Spanish is the only group to receive instruction in their 'native language.'"

I have consistently found that Spanish-speaking students are being short-changed in learning English. What I find extremely difficult to deal with is the fact that most of the reasons for short-changing these students are political in nature. School Boards are too afraid of being called "racists" to deal with the facts of the situation. As I said earlier, I was happy to see the high school staff moving towards greater accountability on LEP student achievement, but the Board of Trustees refused to move forward with a change in the way we do business in regards to the teaching methods being used for LEP students. This is ironic because at that very same board meeting we had just received information that the district was below the fiftieth percentile in math and reading scores when compared with the rest of the nation. There were a number of lengthy speeches by board members outlining the needs for our district to be more accountable *"to change the way we do business."* However, not more than sixty minutes later, I proposed a significant way to "change the way we do business." I proposed that we change the way we teach Spanish-speaking LEP students, that we begin a special, all-English instruction program for this group. I couldn't even get a second on my motion. The Board felt that things were going well in this area and there was no need to make any changes. This was

decided even though they had been provided information showing that students of other languages were being re-designated more quickly than Spanish-speaking students. There was no inclination to make a change.

The elementary level school board has also failed to make any changes. There is political pressure from some of the local "native language" activists and there is little political will to face that storm of controversy.

The nature of the debate has never been about "facts"; it has always been one of culture. The argument is that to preserve the cultural heritage of Hispanics, it is important to make sure that they retain their language. It doesn't matter that by doing this they end up as second class citizens because they are unable to function fully in a mainly English language society. Repeatedly, anecdotal information about the few Spanish-speaking LEP students who succeed translated into a broad generalization of how all these students are doing. And no amount of "facts" can change that perception, especially among those who are blind to the truth.

School districts across this country, especially those in California, have forgotten that their second most important job, after the three R's, is to make good citizens of the students they have in their care. Through some misguided sense of politically correct guilt, schools have fallen prey to the need to be culturally sensitive to everyone else in the world. This is accomplished primarily through trying to teach people in their native language or in lowering standards for them. They have forgotten that foreigners have come to this country to become Americans.

We all know the stories told of the "ugly Americans" who visit other countries in the world and are insensitive to the language, customs and cultures they find there. Ask anyone you know the following question: "If you were going to live in another country for an extended period of time, if not permanently, do you believe that it would be your responsibility to learn the language and customs of that country?" Five will get you ten that the answer will be a resounding, "Yes." If that is true, and *the responsibility of learning the language and customs of another country lies with the newcomer*, why then should we not expect newcomers to the U.S. to learn the language and customs of the U.S.? This certainly applies to the teaching that goes on in our schools. We must, of course, treat each other with respect at all times, but that *never* means that American citizens must give up our cultural heritage so that others may retain theirs. For those newcomers who plan to live in this country for extended periods or permanently, it is essential that they become familiar with American culture, for their own best opportunities and for the benefit of the country at large. As we all know, learning the English language is the first step to becoming an American citizen.

It is time to look at the facts in regards to bilingual education and to turn a blind eye to political correctness. Spanish-speaking students are losing out in the educational race, and it is our fault. Standing up and doing the right thing, especially in the face of adversity, is one of the cornerstones of American culture.

Appendix A-1

Spring 1993

School District	A	B	C
Anaheim Elementary	8,651	287	3.32%
Anaheim Union High	8,133	424	5.21%
Brea-Olinda Unified	471	44	9.34%
Fullerton Elementary	2,634	128	4.86%
Garden Grove Unified	16,303	592	3.63%
La Habra City	1,664	130	7.81%
Magnolia Elementary	1,418	212	14.95%
Newport-Mesa Unified	4,042	143	3.54%
Orange Unified	6,089	294	4.83%
Placentia-Yorba Linda U.	3,091	97	3.14%
Santa Ana Unified	32,150	1,099	3.42%
Savanna Elementary	382	12	3.14%
TOTALS	85,028	3,462	4.07%

Notes: Column A = Total LEP Students; Column B = Total Re-designations; Column C = Percentage of LEP Students.

Appendix A-2

1994

School District	A	B	C
Anaheim Elementary	9,513	240	2.52%
Anaheim Union High	7,680	267	3.48%
Brea-Olinda Unified	550	36	6.55%
Fullerton Elementary	2,959	121	4.09%
Garden Grove Unified	17,856	631	3.53%
La Habra City	1,759	93	5.29%
Magnolia Elementary	1,704	157	9.21%
Newport-Mesa Unified	4,119	182	4.42%
Orange Unified	6,229	316	5.07%
Placentia-Yorba Linda U.	3,195	143	4.48%
Santa Ana Unified	33,541	980	2.92%
Savanna Elementary	496	15	3.20%
TOTALS	89,574	3,181	3.55%

Notes: Column A = Total LEP Students; Column B = Total Re-designations; Column C = Percentage of LEP Students.

Appendix A-3

Spring 1995

School District	A	B	C
Anaheim Elementary	10,320	331	3.21%
Anaheim Union High	7,344	714	9.72%
Brea-Olinda Unified	479	49	10.23%
Fullerton Elementary	3,181	126	3.96%
Garden Grove Unified	18,743	572	3.05%
La Habra City	1,881	122	6.49%
Magnolia Elementary	2,070	148	7.15%
Newport-Mesa Unified	4,284	120	2.80%
Orange Unified	6,596	413	6.26%
Placentia-Yorba Linda U.	3,296	94	2.85%
Santa Ana Unified	34,307	1,237	3.61%
Savanna Elementary	547	35	6.40%
TOTALS	93,048	3,961	4.26%

Notes: Column A = Total LEP Students; Column B = Total Re-designations; Column C = Percentage of LEP Students.

A California Teacher's Initiatives

Cathy Liska

There have been many changes in the Anaheim City School District since I began teaching there in the early 1970s, but none has been so detrimental as the proliferation of native language instruction across the district. While our limited-English students come from thirty different language backgrounds, only Spanish-speaking children are put in native language classes. The number of Limited-English Proficient (LEP) students has risen from 4,780 in 1987 to 11,101 in 1996, making 60 percent of the district's students LEP. As of 1997, 60 percent of those students in grades 1 and 2 and a little over 60 percent of all kindergarten students are receiving Spanish instruction. From Spring 1993 through Spring 1997, with the majority of the district's schools bilingual, the district's re-designation scores yielded only a 4.57 percent average success rate in turning Limited-English Proficient students into Fluent-English proficient students.

As a concerned teacher at John Marshall, one of the Anaheim elementary schools, I present this description of my efforts to promote changes and improvements for our language minority students and the largely unyielding resistance of the educational bureaucracy.

In 1996 there were fifteen native language programs and seven English immersion schools in the Anaheim district. In the district's English immersion schools, all students learn to read, write and spell in English, using native language support when necessary, with thirty minutes per day devoted to concentrated English as a Second Language (ESL) lessons. In the native language schools, Spanish-speaking students have thirty minutes per day of ESL also, but their reading, spelling, creative writing, and math lessons are in Spanish, sometimes taught by an Instructional Assistant. Devoting precious time to language arts in Spanish, the thirty minutes per day of English language learning is not nearly enough for English fluency, as the districts' disappointing re-designation rates clearly show. In addition, content area subjects, such as science and social studies, may be taught in Spanish if the instructor is bilingual. English-speaking students in native language schools have their lessons in English, creating a dual system within each classroom.

Of the ten schools most successful in qualifying students as "Fluent-English proficient" that year, five were English immersion schools. John Marshall was one of the five. In 1996, John Marshall was third in the district with a 13.57 percent success rate in promoting Limited-English Proficient students to Fluent-English Proficient students. In 1995, it was number one in the district on the California Test of Basic Skills (CTBS). This test measures reading comprehension, spelling, grammar, phonemic awareness and math—all in English. Clearly, our students were learning English quickly and effectively for academic work. Our principal attributed this to the fact that we had Gifted and Talented Education classes (GATE) at our school. This quite probably did affect the outcome somewhat. However, both GATE students and LEP students were tested.

In 1995, at the beginning of our new school year, John Marshall School was assigned a principal who began to lay the groundwork to convert our English immersion program to a program focused on native language instruction. During the first three weeks of school, teachers met and drafted a very positive letter supporting English immersion at our school because there was general anxiety that the decision to move to native language instruction was about to be made virtually without our input. Our new principal, in several informal conversations with individual staff members, had openly conveyed her intention to impose mostly Spanish language instruction as soon as possible. My colleagues who provide the day in, day out classroom instruction were dismayed that we would not be included in the planning of any major changes in our school program.

Several teachers volunteered to present our letter supporting the current English program to the principal, and she acknowledged receiving it at the faculty meeting the next day. However, she did not volunteer to discuss its contents, so the teachers pursued the topic of English immersion at John Marshall. Responding to a question from one teacher, the principal stated, "I cannot support staff in the present language arts program because I have only been at the school one month." A more spirited discussion followed, in which the teachers let her know how pleased we were with student progress and our reluctance to make major program changes. Finally, in order to end the discussion, the principal announced that any changes in the language arts program were not her decision, but "came from the Board of Education."

At a later date, the letter to our principal was read by one of our teachers at a School Board meeting, and John Marshall parents asked the Board to keep the English program. Todd Kaudy, a School Board member, then scolded our teachers because he felt the letter was an attack on our new principal. In substance, he told us that there would be serious repercussions if we did anything like that

again. Later, we teachers were criticized by two other school administrators at their faculty meetings and identified by one as "people with racist policies." John Marshall teachers felt very frustrated at hearing that they were being maligned by school administrators. We protested the ugly statement and demanded an apology in a letter signed by the entire staff. Finally, the offending person sent a letter virtually denying the whole incident ever took place.

During this period, I met with our Deputy Superintendent, Dr. Mary Ellen Blanton, to discuss some of my concerns. Dr. Blanton told me that she supported a return to native language instruction at our school because, "Your school is at fifty-one percent limited-English students." This was the only rationale she used. Apparently, Dr. Blanton did not acknowledge the significant gains in student achievement at our school through the existing program. She defended the new principal by saying, "In fairness to your principal I told her to let teachers know a change was coming." However, there had been no consultation with teaching staff, just a bald move to impose native language instruction, like it or not.

After the meeting with Dr. Blanton, I called School Board Member Todd Kaudy. He told me that the Board of Education had not authorized any change at our school, nor should Dr. Blanton have told the principal to let staff know "a change was coming." He further stated that he and another board member had gone to the new superintendent, Jack Sarnicky, to see if an alternative to native language instruction could be put in place district-wide. Mr. Kaudy made it clear that if our faculty felt strongly about the actions of the principal and Dr. Blanton, then we should go to the superintendent with our complaints and concerns.

I told our faculty what Mr. Kaudy had said, but we decided we had made our point and chose not to further involve ourselves in the furor already created by our support for the existing program. We believed we had squashed the program change for the time being, especially since parents in the neighborhood had circulated a petition showing support for English immersion at John Marshall.

At this point I made a personal decision to take actions beyond my own school. Thus began the bureaucratic nightmare of challenging a system that had become firmly entrenched in the Anaheim City School District but that had failed to work well for Spanish-speaking children. I began by networking with teachers at other schools in the district, conducting a straw poll to see how many teachers would respond favorably to a change from native language instruction to English immersion district-wide. I reasoned that if two School Board members had already approached the Superintendent on this topic, there might

be similar ideas among the other three board members. Perhaps some support from teachers would help them make a decision. The straw poll revealed that a little over 400 teachers out of approximately 650 wanted to see our present method of native language instruction changed. Even some native language teachers felt the program was doing little to help Spanish-speaking students become competent enough to do school work in English.

While talking with teachers, I learned of serious abuses. One teacher said that her school principal kept in her office the forms needed by parents whenever they wished to request that their children be placed in the English program. This was done so teachers could not have access to the forms. Two teachers were told that if they tried to place any children's names on the forms for English program choice she would "personally call and talk each and every parent out of it." This same school administrator informed a parent that her son had to be in native language instruction because "it's the law," although the mother's other two children had been in an English program. There were so many reports of questionable bilingual placement practices by administrators that I could hardly recognize the district in which I had started my teaching career back in 1971.

After sharing the information about the over four hundred teachers who wanted to see a change towards English instruction, a steering committee from our school composed of seven teachers and one parent met, and our grassroots group, *Successful Futures*, was born. We scheduled an informational meeting in September, which sixty people attended. We prepared excerpts from *The Little Hoover Commission's* 1993 report on bilingual education. The Little Hoover Commission is an independent California oversight agency whose mission is "to investigate state government operations and through reports, recommendations and legislative proposals, promote efficiency, economy and improved service." They had found great waste, as well as great failure in the thirty-year-old native language program in California.

As guest speakers, I invited Gloria Matta Tuchman and Sally Peterson. Tuchman, a teacher in Santa Ana, had run for State Superintendent of Public Instruction and testified numerous times before the legislature about the inadequacy of native language instruction. Peterson is founder of *Learning English Advocates Drive*. Both of these women are strong advocates of English immersion programs.

At the conclusion of the meeting, eight teachers volunteered to address the Board of Education with their concerns about native language instruction, in general, and questionable placement practices, in particular.

Before I addressed the board, I spoke with Barry Zolotar, one of the attorneys for the California Department of Education. Among other things, I related my experience of being told by a principal, "The district considers it coercion for teachers to inform parents about their right to choose English instruction for their children." Zolotar informed me that this restriction was "not defensible." In other words, the district's practice of not informing parents of their rights would be indefensible in a court of law.

In my address, I shared Mr. Zolotar's information about the indefensibility of the district's position on this point. I related a few of the examples of the questionable practices by school administrators I had learned about from teachers. These examples supported my contention that the only reason the district had parents meet with a school administrator was to talk the parents out of placing their children into English language classrooms and into Spanish language classrooms. Other teachers also shared their concerns and provided examples of experiences similar to mine. One particularly poignant statement came from Aline Hicks, a teacher at the Mann School. She described, in detail, three different instances when parents had tried, but failed, to place their children in English language instuction—each attempt had ended with the parents being told "permission denied." Her testimony illustrated concretely for the Board of Education that parents were not allowed to exercise their right of choice.

We expected the Board of Education to investigate and to rectify the problems. We were wrong. No action was taken by the Board other than to direct Superintendent Jack Sarnicky to "look into it."

During this same September, I sent a letter to Allan Keown, Deputy General Counsel for the California Department of Education. I described to him what had been going on in the district. I asked for a clarification on the voluntary nature of bilingual education. At the end of each month in October, November, and December I made calls to his office, asking for a response to my letter. Each time he put me off. When I called in January, 1996, I was told by Mr. Keown that he had forwarded my letter to Leroy Hamm of the Bilingual Compliance Division of the California Department of Education. Having received no reply from Mr. Hamm by the middle of January, I called him. He told me he had lost my letter because he had moved offices. I then sent him a duplicate letter. Ten days later I finally had a reply to my letter. In it, Mr. Keown stated in part, "The practices you describe in your letter, if factually accurate, could well be found to be coercive and thus violative of the voluntariness component of this state statute: i.e., Section 62002."

I also sent a letter to the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights explaining this violation of parents' rights to choice of language instruction in our district. The OCR responded with the following statement:

> First, while you allege that teachers are not permitted to inform parents of an English-only program, you do not allege that parents are not so informed by other parties. Second, while you allege that District administrators may attempt to convince parents to place their children in special language classes, you do not allege that the special language classes fail to meet the educational needs of the students.

Actually, the OCR had missed my point—parents' rights were being violated because the district was not forthrightly informing them of their right to choose.

In February 1996, I visited with Roberta Thompson, the Director of Curriculum and Instruction for the Anaheim City School District. During this visit I learned that Superintendent Sarnicky had reminded school administrators at a principals' meeting that they were to let parents make the choice for English or Spanish without any persuasion on their part.

In March, I received a few calls from teachers who complained that parents were still being denied their right of choice. Also in March, I attended a meeting for parents held by the Compliance Review Board from the California Department of Education. The board had reviewed the special programs of the district, one of which was native language instruction. I had taken out an advertisement in the community's Spanish language newspaper, *The Excelsior*, to announce the meeting and encourage parents to voice their opinion about the native language program.

During the meeting, Harald Martin, a member of the Anaheim Union High School Board of Trustees, told the Compliance Review Board that he was glad the California Department of Education and the State Board of Education had gotten away from supporting native language instruction. In July 1995, the Superintendent of Public Instruction Delaine Eastin had announced two major policies on bilingual education:

1. The "preference" for primary language programs was removed, giving all school districts maximum choice in type of program; and
2. School districts were to be more diligent in recording evidence of student achievement.

However, the Compliance Review Board flatly denied that this was the case.

During the meeting, one of the Compliance Board members stated that native language instruction was a voluntary program. Hearing this, I raised my hand and said,

"If bilingual education is completely voluntary, then shouldn't the parent be able to make the choice of Spanish or English without pressure from a school administrator, and shouldn't teachers be allowed to inform parents of their rights?"

"Yes," she replied.

"Well," I continued, "I would suggest to you that this district has not allowed parents to make a free and clear choice for years."

"Then you need to file a complaint against your district," she said.

"I will," I heard myself saying.

Consequently, on April 3, 1996, I filed a formal complaint against the Anaheim City School District for their alleged violations of state and federal law. This complaint was based on the information I had received from teachers and from studying both Education Code 62002 and the Code of Regulations, Section 4308—"Parent Notification." I cited three areas of concern:

1. The school and district administrators have restricted teachers from informing parents of their right to waive bilingual education.
2. The district has allowed parents of English learners to be ignorant of their right to waive bilingual instruction.
3. District administrators have allowed/encouraged school administrators to counsel and persuade parents of English learners out of English and back into Spanish instruction, in spite of the fact that these parents brought a handwritten note to school asking for English instruction.

After I filed the complaint, I met with Dennis Roberson, the district's Title V Compliance Officer. He explained the procedure for mediation. He also told me that I should have an addendum to the complaint citing specific incidents, in case he or the mediator needed to do an investigation.

We agreed on a two-week period to complete the addendum. I knew that it would be very difficult to get teachers to join me, even though they had already told me about violations of parents' rights, harassment by school administrators, and threats of involuntary transfers because of the bilingual issue. As one teacher stated, "I'd like to give you an incident, but I'm the sole support of my family." Teachers had a great fear that if they spoke up, they might be fired. As another teacher told me, "I admire what you're doing, but be careful. These are very vindictive people." (She referred to the administration.)

Nevertheless, I began writing the addendum, citing incidents that I knew of personally. Then, I began calling some of the teachers who had addressed the board in September of 1995. To my surprise, when I explained that I had filed a formal complaint, most were willing to participate. Then the ripple effect began to take over, and other teachers joined us. In the end, twelve teachers, including myself, came forward with twenty-four incidents involving nine bilingual schools. Another half dozen school administrators were identified for directing teachers not to inform parents of their rights or for engaging in questionable bilingual placement practices themselves.

During this time, I sent a second letter to the DOE's Office of Civil Rights. My main question concerned the part of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that "prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, and national origin in programs and activities that receive Federal financial assistance." I wrote, "Is it not a violation of these parents' civil rights to have their children placed in native language instruction, because they (the parents) are not informed of their rights about the voluntary nature of the program that is federally funded." Their response was virtually the same as the first time. They stated, in part, "OCR (Office of Civil Rights) reviews programs for LEP students to determine whether they are provided adequate access to the core curriculum in light of their linguistic needs." It seemed I could not make them understand.

As mediation drew near, Mr. Jeff Krivis, the mediator, told me to send the addendum to the Board of Education, which I did. I thought they would be so horrified to see what was going on in some of the schools that they would take immediate steps to remedy the situation. I asked for the dismissal and/or demotion of two of the top administrators involved. There was no response from the board.

Before the mediation occurred, I wanted to make sure I thoroughly understood the Education Code and the Code of Regulations about native language instruction, so I made a phone appointment with Edda Caraballo-Browne, one of the "Bilingual Compliance" people at the California Department of Education. In preparation, I had written questions so that I would not appear uninformed. To my surprise, as we spoke, I was giving her answers. I finally explained to her that the district was placing children in bilingual education without informing the parents of their rights prior to the enrollment of their children.

She said, "Well, all districts just place them."

"Yes, I replied, "but it's illegal."

Her only response was, "Well...."

She then asked, "Are you doing this [complaint/mediation] just to follow the law or to help the children?"

I said, "I thought if we followed the law it *would* help the children."

Our phone conversation came quickly to a close.

When it came time for mediation, the district would not let me have a union representative with me because they said that it was not a grievance, but a formal complaint. Fortunately, I had recently read an article in the *Wall Street Journal* by Patrick Manshardt, a staff attorney for the *Individual Rights Foundation* in Los Angeles. He had represented a teacher in a court case. I called him and after we talked for awhile he said he would go with me to the mediation.

At the beginning of the mediation Mr. Krivis laid out the ground rules. Then, Anaheim City School administrators and I had the opportunity to present our views.

The district's representatives, Dr. Blanton and Pam Ellis, the bilingual coordinator, stated that they and their committees had been very busy working on new letters and forms during this entire time period. Pam Ellis's exact statement was, "We are going to do more than is required of us because we want everyone to know their rights."

At one point Dr. Blanton said that there had been no directive given to school administrators to restrict teachers or to persuade parents not to request that their children be placed in English language classes.

"Well, someone told them to do it," I replied. "And if you give me a room down here [at district offices], a phone, a translator, and access to the parents' names, I'll find you four thousand parents this year alone who don't know their rights." (I had already calculated from the R30-LC forms that over a seven-year period approximately 12,852 students had been assigned to the district's native language program.)

There was complete silence at their end of the table. Not once did we see the addendum to the complaint; the only reference made to it came from Pam Ellis. She said that she had contacted the administrators involved, and they denied any of the incidents had happened. Neither my lawyer nor I responded to that statement.

Mr. Manshardt then pointed out that the district's BILP (Bilingual Instructional Learning Plan) form was inadequate in that it did not really inform parents of their right of choice. I was happy to hear him echo what I and other teachers had been saying all along.

After more discussion, the mediator had the administrators go to another room while he explained the next part to us. He explained that I was to decide what I expected the district to do to rectify the problems of student placement and communication with parents, and he would give this information to them. Then, he left to talk with the administrators. After he left the room, Mr. Manshardt turned to me and said, "I know when I'm being lied to." He was referring to the administration's efforts to make us think that they had been planning to redesign the forms in dispute.

My expectations from the district included the following items:

- A letter to be sent to all staff that explained *in detail* the rights of parents and teachers and made clear that no school administrator can deny these rights;
- The appointment of a liaison person (either a union representative or someone from the district) to whom teachers and/or parents could address any complaints about program assignments;
- A letter to be sent or given to parents *prior* to the enrollment of their child in school that described both the native language and the English immersion programs and informed them of their right of choice (in conformity to Code of Regs., Sec. 4308—Parent Notification); and lastly,
- A script to be prepared for teachers and school administrators, explaining the main features of the English immersion and the native language programs for those parents who had further questions.

When Mr. Krivis returned we reviewed these expectations, and he took my written copy to administration. When he returned, he said that administration didn't want to change the BILP form because they had just printed some. I told him that the district had their own in-house print shop and this should not be a problem. Then he said they weren't sure about the other forms and letters because they didn't know how the principals would react to them.

"Ask them who's running this district, them or the principals," my lawyer and I said almost simutaneously.

"We have an agreement," he said the next time he returned.

The following hour was spent hammering out a timeline. At the start of mediation, the administrators had acted as though the new paperwork was almost in place. Now, however, the hedging began about when these letters/forms could go into effect. My lawyer began to be impatient because he felt the administration was stalling.

At last, it was agreed that we would have a conference call on July 16, 1996, at

which time the administrators would report on the progress they were making in the four areas agreed upon.

"All we are trying to do is to get them to obey the law," Mr. Manshardt told me later. "Why is this so hard?"

During the July conference call the timeline was set. It was agreed that the letter to staff would be sent out on August 1, as well as a letter naming Dennis Roberson as the person to whom teachers and parents could go to for bilingual complaints. The form apprising parents of their rights would be ready by September 1. It would be retroactive to include those students who had already started school in July of 1996. This one time teachers would give the letter to parents at conference time. After that, it would be given to parents when they filled in the Home Language Survey at the office. It was also agreed that the script would be ready by September 1.

During the call, I asked if my lawyer and I could see each of these letters/forms. The administration agreed. It was gratifying to know that, once and for all, everyone would know their rights, including teachers.

By July 29, I was dissatisfied because neither I nor my lawyer had seen the letter the administration had agreed to send out to staff by August. I called Dr. Blanton's office to inquire. She informed me that I had already received the letter along with all other staff at the district in-service meeting held on Friday, July 26, 1996.

The letter she referred to only had one statement about a parent being able, by law, to withdraw a student from special program placement after submitting a written note to the principal. The rest of the letter was about the training of teachers and the monitoring and evaluation of students. This failed to address the bulk of what had been agreed upon during the mediation. I protested to Dr. Blanton, but to no avail. I called Jeff Krivis, the mediator; who had already received his copy. I told him of my concerns, but he was not sympathetic.

"What's wrong with the letter? You can't expect the district to do everything. They are bending over backwards for you," he said. "You're just trying to be a policeman for the district," he told me in the end.

I then wrote to Roberta Thompson, who had recently become Superintendent. I explained the mediation process, what had been agreed upon, and how I didn't feel her letter to staff expressed the intent of the mediation agreement. In a short handwritten note she responded, "I don't agree with all of your interpretations...."

Next, I waited for the letter naming Dennis Roberson as the bilingual complaint officer. It was never sent to my lawyer or me. Finally, it was posted on our teachers' lounge bulletin board the last week of August. It was dated August 1. Dennis Roberson was named in the letter, but there was no description of his true role. He was called "The Educational Hearing Practices Officer." The letter gave a general explanation of his duties, but nothing was said specifically about the bilingual program aspect.

In September 1996, when more teachers called me with seventeen violations of parents' rights, I told each one to get in touch with Dennis Roberson. Even though they had read the letter about him, they didn't know he was the person to call—proving my point that the letter was inadequate.

As for the next mediated form, "Parents' Rights and Appeals Procedures," once again neither my lawyer nor I were sent a copy. When a friend sent me a copy I discovered that the document had indeed been distributed in September, although the District Advisory Committee/Bilingual Advisory Committee didn't "okay" it until November. The wording of the document was unclear, using language that the average parent would not be familiar with, such as "specially designed academic instruction in English." As a parent who was present at the advisory committee meeting stated in written testimony at my appeal, "The parents involved didn't understand the content of this form. Then Pam Ellis said, 'They (the parents) would see other forms that would explain the process better.'" However, there were no "other forms" (except the "Parent Notification and Recommended Student Placement" form, which was also inadequate to explain the process). I believe this form was railroaded through because it had already been given out district-wide.

Then the mediated script was negated altogether. After waiting two months past the September 1 deadline to see it, I finally confronted Dr. Blanton, who said she would "check on it." In a few days I received a letter from her stating that the idea of the script had been scrapped because, as she wrote, "All processes have the potential for misuse. We feel that the new forms clearly communicate all required elements and are the least cumbersome for teachers to implement." Although I had included teachers as recipients of the script, my main intention was that it be used primarily by school administrators to keep them from attempting to persuade parents not to place their children in English instruction.

Even though I had conducted written interviews with several parents, none of them wished to come forward with their stories. A typical comment was that of a parent who said she would not speak out publicly because she had

heard stories of retaliation against children if their parents complained. There was little Patrick Manshardt could do for me as this last mediation puzzle piece was put into place.

Just after this, I wrote to the Office of Civil Rights for the third time. I included evidence from the addendum to prove to them that parents' rights had been violated. In June, I received their reply, which stated in part, "...OCR has made a determination that your allegations, even if true, do not violate any laws or regulations enforced by OCR. Since this is the third complaint you have made to OCR stating identical allegations, any other information you submit will be placed in the case file and OCR will have no further response."

I appealed the mediation to the California Department of Education, who then turned my appeal over to the Anaheim City School District for their response. On June 16, I received a letter from Dennis Roberson explaining that he was investigating my allegations of seventeen violations of parents' rights in September of 1996 and wanted the names of the parents. I told him that these parents were not the ones even mentioned in the addendum, and that I would not give him the names.

In July I received a hefty package from the district containing their response to my appeal, complete with exhibits. I read through it briefly and then left it on my desk for three days, knowing it would be futile to write a rebuttal; but I also knew that I should do so, just to bring a formal end to the process.

Finally, I wrote a five-page rebuttal of their decision complete with exhibits. Included in the exhibits was the written testimony of the parent earlier mentioned who is a member of the District Advisory Committee/Bilingual Advisory Committee. Also included were three written interviews I had conducted with parents whose rights had been violated. Among other things, I pointed out that if Dennis Roberson truly wanted to investigate allegations of violated rights, he should have investigated the parents mentioned in the addendum to the complaint. This was never done.

I asked the California Department of Education to allow us to go back to mediation to develop a clear "Parents' Rights and Appeals Procedures" form, a script for school administrators, and a new letter to all staff that explained the law in detail and made clear Dennis Roberson's true duties as it pertained to native language placement complaints.

On August 12, 1997, I received a response to my rebuttal from Allan Keown. "I do not see any legal basis," he wrote, "for it [the mediation agreement] to be

altered by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Hence, you should consider this letter to be the final administrative action under Title 5's Uniform Complaint Procedures. In other words, from our point of view, you have now exhausted all of your administrative remedies and should feel free, if you so choose, to take your complaint to the judicial system."

From September 1995 to the present, our group *Successful Futures* has grown to over seven hundred concerned Anaheim teachers, instructional assistants, other district employees, parents, and community members. We have adopted the following as our Mission Statement: *We believe in immersion with native language support for our English-learners and a strong ESL program.*

We send out a monthly Fact Sheet, giving recent data showing the failure of native language instruction and the success of English immersion programs. We have a monthly postcard campaign to inform the Anaheim City School Board that if they intend to continue their inadequate native language program, they need to provide English language classrooms for those who want this legally available option.

Our voices are being heard, and we *are* making a difference. At the September 9, 1997, School Board meeting Todd Kaudy, president of the Board, stated, "I am very concerned about the behavior of some employees." He then went on to state in substance that he thought the Board of Education needed to look into the possibility of English-only classrooms on certain tracks throughout the district. The rest of the Board of Education concurred with him. The only one who put obstacles in the way of doing it was Superintendent Roberta Thompson. In the end, she was directed by the Board of Education to look at the numbers and report back to them. For the first time, the Board is conducting workshops to study data on the performance of English learners in our district.

Unfortunately, at the December 8, 1997, school board meeting, the report from Pam Ellis and Sandra Barry, Deputy Superintendent, did not hold out much hope that the district was going to provide English-only classrooms. In the end, the statement from the district was, "Because each school's characteristics are unique and constantly changing, grouping within these options is best determined by the site principal and staff." So, unless concerned parents are willing to band together and go to each of the bilingual school sites to demand separate English-only classrooms for their children, the *status quo* will remain.

It will no doubt be a long road ahead to secure the full rights for our Spanish-speaking parents and children, to make the Board of Education enforce

the Education Code and the Code of Regulations, and to overhaul the district's inadequate native language program. However, I am confident that it can be done because *Successful Futures* is dedicated to the resolution of these issues.

A Fifty-State Survey of Requirements for the Education of Language Minority Children

Anita Garcia and Cynthia Morgan

Schools around the United States are now faced with educating a growing number of children who lack basic English skills. According to the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education *Summary Report of the Survey of the States' Limited-English Proficient Students and Available Educational Programs and Services 1994–1995*, there are 2,437,723 Limited-English Proficient students in the U.S.[1] Only a few years ago, many schools had never dealt with a language minority child. Today, an increasing number of school districts enroll these children. The challenge of providing a quality education to all students is doubled when schools must also teach a child an entire new language as well as academic courses.

Over the last thirty years, elected officials, education agencies, and the courts have established guidelines for the education of these students. Federal requirements allow states a wide range of latitude in selecting the most effective programs for their limited-English proficient (LEP) students. Many states have enacted their own laws governing the management and style of programs for LEPs. These laws have been developed in cooperation with, or under coercion from, federal agencies and/or activist organizations. The result has been a patchwork of laws and regulations that can vary greatly from state to state.

This policy brief summarizes state requirements imposed on schools regarding the specific types of programs which must be offered to LEP students. It answers three basic questions. What programs are required? How many LEP students are there? How much funding is provided by the state for these students? It does not address state requirements regarding the identification or placement of LEP students or parental rights.

Federal law regarding LEP students is governed by a variety of legislative acts and court decisions. The first of these is Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which states that:

> No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of,

> or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance.

In 1974 Congress passed the Equal Educational Opportunity Act (EEOA), requiring schools to take "appropriate action" to overcome the language barriers of students who cannot speak English. That same year, the Supreme Court decided in *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) that school districts must assist LEP students through a program designed to meet their particular educational needs. The Court did not determine a particular program for schools to follow, instead recommending a variety of approaches. *Lau* gave districts the opportunity to choose between bilingual education, English as a Second Language (ESL), and other programs which appropriately assist students. Under federal law, every LEP student must receive specialized instructional services.

Since the Equal Educational Opportunity Act did not define what "appropriate actions" are, the decision by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, in *Castaneda v. Pickard* (1981) established a three-pronged test to determine the meaning of "appropriate action." First, any program must be based upon an accepted educational or experimental theory. Second, the school's implementation must be consistent with the chosen educational theory. This relates to the individual school's "genuine and good faith efforts, consistent with local circumstances and resources."[2] Lastly, the program must produce results in terms of whether language barriers are being overcome.

Our summary of state laws and regulations does not include recommendations for LEP programs because there is no way to know if the suggestions are followed and they are not enforceable by law. There are generally two types of programs adopted by schools for assisting LEP students: Bilingual Education and English as a Second Language or English for Speakers of Other Languages. Bilingual Education uses native language instruction while English as a Second Language (ESL) and English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) focus on instruction in English.

STATE REQUIREMENTS

States which Mandate Bilingual Education (11)
Alaska, California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Texas, Washington, Wisconsin

States which Forbid Bilingual Education (3)
Arkansas, Delaware, Nebraska

Non-Program States with Specific Laws for LEP Programs (25)
Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Utah, Virginia

States with No Laws Regarding LEP Programs (11)
Alabama, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Montana, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Vermont, West Virginia, Wyoming

States which Fund all LEP Programs (28)
Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, Texas, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin

States which only Fund Bilingual Education Programs (2)
Michigan, New Mexico

States which only Fund Non-Bilingual Education Programs (1)
Virginia

States with No Funding for LEP Programs (19)
Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Wyoming

A State by State Summary

Alabama

Contact: Diane Courtney, Education Specialist (334) 242–9700.

Requirements: Alabama has no mandate.

Funding: State code allocates separate funds for assistance programs of $100 per student.[3] These programs are designed for students termed "at–risk" by performing below State Board of Education standards. There are 3,502 LEP students, who are eligible for the "at–risk" funding.

Alaska

Contact: Anne Kessler, Alaska Department of Education (907) 465–8716.

Requirements: Bilingual/Bicultural education is mandated for every school district which has eight or more LEP students, or even students who are En-

glish proficient but can speak another language, of any one language in any one school.[4] Districts may apply for a waiver from these requirements.

Funding: There are 29,929 LEP students in Alaska receiving $20,641,401.

Arizona

Contact: Nancy Mendoza, Deputy Associate Superintendent, Bilingual Migrant and Indian Education, Legislative Liaison (602) 542–3204.

Requirements: State statutes require all schools to provide either a bilingual or an ESL program for each LEP student.[5]

Funding: There are 98,128 LEP students receiving $14,341,881 (note: all programs for LEP students are eligible for funding).

Arkansas

Contact: Andre Guerro, State Director of Language Minority Students (501) 682–4213.

Requirements: Arkansas has no mandate. State law requires all courses to be taught in English, "Any person violating the provisions hereof shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction shall be fined not to exceed twenty–five dollars, payable into the general school fund of the county."[6,7] However, school districts are allowed to establish ESL programs.

Funding: There are 5,500 LEP students, receiving $6 million allotted biannually in the last session of the state legislature, 1995.

California

Contact: Leroy Hamm, Complaints Management and Bilingual Compliance Unit (916) 657–3699.

Requirements: The California statutes mandating bilingual education were allowed to sunset on June 30, 1987. The Legislature continued funding programs and under the state's interpretation, all California schools must offer bilingual learning opportunities to every LEP student. ESL programs are allowed only in certain circumstances. Schools having at least ten LEP students who speak the same language must provide a bilingual program.

Funding: There are 1,262,982 LEP students who receive an estimated $300 million in state funding[8] (note: districts which are not in compliance with the bilingual mandate can lose this funding).

Colorado

Contact: Dr. Roger Martinez, State Bilingual Coordinator, Colorado Department of Education (303) 866–6771.

Requirements: Colorado statutes require that instruction in public schools be conducted in English with the exception of LEP transitional programs which may be bilingual education or ESL and are required under Colorado's English Language Proficiency Act.[9] The Denver School District Consent Decree requires the creation of a bilingual education program.[10] The criteria for these programs is based on the number of LEP students in separate categories for the individual schools. Grades K–6, which have seventy or more LEP students; grades K–3, which have forty or more LEP students; and K, 4–6 which have thirty or more LEP students must establish bilingual programs.

Funding: There are 24,247 LEP students, and the state provides funding which may not exceed $400 per year per student for up to two years. The total state funding for LEP students for 1995–1996 was $2.6 million.

Connecticut

Contact: George DeGeorge, Bilingual Education Consultant (860) 566–2169.

Requirements: Under State statutes any school or school district with twenty or more LEP students who speak any one language must provide a bilingual education program.[11]

Funding: There are 20,392 LEP students, receiving $2.26 million.

Delaware

Contact: Sister Margie Loveland, Education Specialist Bilingual/ESL Programs, Delaware Department of Education (302) 739–2770.

Requirements: There are no statutes or regulations. However, by law, English is the language of instruction.[12] State Board of Education policy recommendations call for either bilingual or ESL programs for LEP students.

Funding: There are 1,625 LEP students. There is no state funding.

Florida

Contact: Bernardo A. Garcia, Director Office of Multicultural Student Language Education (904) 487–8533.

Requirements: State statutes require that either a bilingual or an ESOL program be provided if there are at least fifteen students who speak the same language in a school. They must have access to a teacher who is proficient in their native language in addition to a trained ESOL teacher.[13]

Funding: There are 153,841 LEP students receiving $ 373.5 million for LEP programs.

Georgia

Contact: Beth Arnow, Migrant/ESOL Programs Coordinator, Georgia Department of Education (404) 656–4495.

Requirements: State law requires schools to provide LEP student programs, designed to develop both the necessary English skills and American culture concepts for participation in regular English classroom instruction.[14]

Funding: There are 15, 277 LEP students. There is no state funding.

Hawaii

Contact: Dr. Alan Ramos (808) 733–4495.

Requirements: Hawaii administrative education rules forbid discrimination on the basis of national origin or race.[15] This has been interpreted to mean that language minority students must receive special services. Both ESL and bilingual education programs are allowed.

Funding: There are 12,186 LEP students, receiving $7 million in state funding.

Idaho

Contact: Irene Chavolla, Migrant Coordinator (208) 332–6907.

Requirements: State law requires English to be the language of instruction.[16] However, transitional programs may be provided for students who do not speak English in their homes. A consent decree requires a uniform, comprehensive and appropriate program statewide.[17]

Funding: There are 13,188 LEP students, receiving $2.25 million in state funding.

Illinois

Contact: Rene Valenciano, Illinois State Board of Education (314)814–3986.

Requirements: All LEP students must be served by either a transitional bilingual education program or a transitional program of instruction.[18] Any school that has twenty or more LEP students of a single language group must establish a transitional bilingual education program.[19] Any school with fewer than twenty LEP students of a particular language group may institute a bilingual program but must at the minimum institute a transitional program of instruction.[20]

Funding: Illinois provides $55.5 million in state funding for its transitional programs of instruction and transitional bilingual education programs. Illinois has 107,084 LEP students.

Indiana

Contact: Darlene Slaby, Director Language and Minority Programs (317) 232–0555.

Requirements: State statutes require school districts to provide bilingual–bicultural programs for those students whose native language is not English, who speak a language other than English more often, or who live in a home where the language most often spoken is not English.[21] The goal of the pro-

gram is to assist students in reaching their full academic achievement and to preserve an awareness of cultural and linguistic heritage.

Funding: There are 6,293 LEP students. There is no state funding.

Iowa

Contact: Dan Chavez, Bilingual/ESL and Grant Management Consultant (515) 281–3805.

Requirements: There is no mandate. Iowa code allows for transitional bilingual and/or ESL programs.[22]

Funding: There are 8,000 LEP students in Iowa. State funding is $4 million per year. There is a three year limit per student for program enrollment.

Kansas

Contact: Kimberley Kreiker, ESOL/Bilingual Migrant and Indian Education Program Consultant (913) 296–7929.

Requirements: State law requires schools to establish programs for LEP students which integrate them into the regular educational programs and are taught by qualified teachers, as determined by the state board.[23] Schools are allowed to employ measures such as entering into a multi-district arrangement to share the costs of the program. An advisory board is established by the state board to provide technical assistance to the school districts.

Funding: There are 12,050 LEP students, who received $4.2 million in 1996.

Kentucky

Contact: Nancy LaCount, Branch Manager Instructional Strategies (502) 564–2672.

Requirements: There are no statutes or regulations.

Funding: There are 2,774 LEP students. There is no state funding.

Louisiana

Contact: Sally M. Tyler, Education Program Specialist, Bilingual Education/ESOL, State of Louisiana Department of Education (504) 342–3454.

Requirements: There are no statutes or regulations.[24]

Funding: There are 6,448 LEP students. There is no state funding.

Maine

Contact: Dr. Barney Berube, Department of Education, Bilingual Education, English as a Second Language (207) 287–5984.

Requirements: State law requires English to be the language of instruction, but allows for bilingual or ESL programs for LEP students.[25] The program

must provide transitional language support services to aid in the acquisition of communicative and academic English skills.

Funding: There are 2,360 LEP students. There is no state funding.

Maryland

Contact: Jill Bayse, Specialist in Foreign and Second Language Learning, Maryland State Department of Education (410) 767–0344.

Requirements: State law establishes guidelines for creating both bilingual and ESL programs.[26] Each school is required to establish either an ESL or bilingual education program for students identified as LEP through the home language survey as well as an assessment of English listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills.

Funding: There are 15,250 LEP students. The state provides $500 for two years per student in the form of grants.[27]

Massachusetts

Contact: Tony Delorenzo, Massachusetts Department of Education (617) 388–3300.

Requirements: Any school district with twenty or more LEP students of any grade level and of a particular language group must offer a program of transitional bilingual education for the students.[28] No school may place LEP children of different language backgrounds in the same bilingual program without the approval of the state Department of Education.[29] Bilingual education programs may include English proficient children.[30] Multi-grade classrooms are allowed, but the age spread between students cannot exceed four years, except for kindergarten, in which case the age spread cannot exceed one year.[31] Additionally, the state Board of Education may, upon petition from a school committee, waive any of these requirements in a particular school district for such a time as is necessary to avoid undue hardship to that district.[32]

Funding: Massachusetts has 44,211 LEP students. The state does provide funding for bilingual programs but it is included in general support and is not restricted. Nicholas Fischer of the state Department of Education estimates that the State provides $110 million for bilingual programs.

Michigan

Contact: Jesus Solis, Office of Equity and Bilingual Education (517) 373–4580.

Requirements: Michigan no longer mandates bilingual instruction for LEP students. Schools are required to provide either ESL or bilingual programs, but only bilingual programs receive state funding.[33]

Funding: There are 45,163 LEP students. The allocation of funds is based on LEP student enrollment, and is not to exceed $4.2 million for 1995–1996.

Minnesota
Contact: Joyce Biagini (612) 296–6104.

Requirements: The state does not require either a bilingual or an ESL program, but any district with either program is required, by the statutes, to prevent LEP student isolation for any substantial part of the school day and to facilitate their integration into non-verbal subjects such as art, music, and physical education.[34]

Funding: There are 2,500 LEP students, receiving $15 million for 1995–1996.

Mississippi
Contact: Dr. Ada Belton, Coordinator, Bilingual Education (601) 359–3513.

Requirements: There are no state regulations.

Funding: There are 2,808 LEP students. There is no state funding.

Missouri
Contact: Dr. Joel Judd, Supervisor, Title VII Programs, Missouri Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (573) 751–8281.

Requirements: State statutes provide for the creation of programs for students who are at-risk of dropping out of school. Bilingual and ESL programs are included under this provision to address the specific needs of LEP students.[35]

Funding: There are 6,053 LEP students. There is no state funding.

Montana
Contact: Lynn Hinch, Bilingual Education Specialist (406) 444–3095.

Requirements: There is no mandate.

Funding: There are 8,268 LEP students. There is no state funding.

Nebraska
Contact: Nancy Rowch, Nebraska Department of Education (402) 471–2295.

Requirements: Nebraska has no state statutes or regulations concerning LEP students or bilingual education programs. State law requires that students be taught in English.[36]

Funding: The Nebraska legislature passed a bill in the first session of 1997, which provides LEP students with 25 percent more funding than other students.[37] There are 3,865 LEP students in Nebraska.

Nevada
Contact: Mary L. Peterson, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Nevada Department of Education (702) 687–9200.

Requirements: Nevada's revised state statutes require the state Board of Education to establish a program to assist LEP students.[38] The Board has adopted regulations which endorse both ESL and Bilingual instruction programs.

Funding: Nevada provides no state funding for its 23,318 LEP students.

New Hampshire

Contact: Christine Noon, New Hampshire Department of Education (603) 271–3494.

Requirements: New Hampshire has various policies included in each district's compliance plan, which must be individually approved by the Bureau of Equality at the New Hampshire Department of Education.[39] New Hampshire largely uses the ESL programs for their LEP students, however, bilingual education programs are permitted.[40]

Funding: The state provides $100,000 a year for LEP programs. There are 1,084 LEP students in New Hampshire.

New Jersey

Contact: Linda Carmona-Bell, Office of Bilingual Education and Equity Issues, State of New Jersey Department of Education (609) 292–1211.

Requirements: Any school district in New Jersey with twenty or more LEP students of any one language group is required to establish a bilingual education program.[41] This requirement may be waived if a school district can establish that due to the age range, geographic location, or grade span of the LEP students, a full-time bilingual program would be impractical.[42] The school district would still be required to implement a special alternative instructional program to serve these students.[43] School districts with fewer than ten LEP students must provide services to improve the English language proficiency of those students.[44] When there are more than ten LEP students within a school district, the district must establish an ESL program.[45] All LEP students must be enrolled in one of the above programs and may be placed in regular English monolingual classes when they are ready to function in such a program.[46] In addition, schools are not required to provide bilingual education to individual students for more than three years.[47]

Funding: New Jersey has 48,582 LEP students for which the state provided $57.4 million in the 1997–1998 school year.

New Mexico

Contact: Lupe M. Castillo, Coordinator Title VII, ESEA, Bilingual Education New Mexico Department of Education (505) 827–6566.

Requirements: New Mexico state law establishes bilingual education programs as a local option, not a mandate. However, only bilingual programs can re-

ceive state funds.[48] All state programs for English learners must be reviewed at regular intervals by the School Board, the State Department of Education, and a required parent advisory board.[49] This evaluation should include students' achievement in English and in the home language.[50]

Funding: New Mexico has 80,850 LEP students for which the state allocated approximately $35 million in the 1996–1997 school year.

New York

Contact: Carmen Perez Hogan, Coordinator of Office of Bilingual Education, State Department of Education (518) 474–8775.

Requirements: Each school district receiving state funds for programs for English learners, which has twenty or more LEP students in the same grade level assigned to a building with the same native language, must have a bilingual education program.[51] New York schools may not keep children in programs for English learners for more than three years, but the state Commissioner of Education may extend that period with respect to individual students for up to six years total.[52] Additionally, all LEP students' proficiency in English must be measured annually to determine if the student should remain in the program.[53]

Funding: New York has 210,198 LEP students for which the state provides $57 million in funding.

North Carolina

Contact: Jane S. Cowan, ESL Consultant, North Carolina Department of Public Instruction (919) 715–1796.

Requirements: The North Carolina Department of Public Instruction requires that each school district adopt a program for LEP students. North Carolina requires that these programs be ESL, bilingual education, or other programs which meet the needs of the students.[54]

Funding: There is no categorical funding for LEP students. There are 14,881 LEP students in North Carolina.

North Dakota

Contact: Mari B. Rasmussen, Coordinator, Bilingual Education, North Dakota Department Public Instruction (701) 328–2958.

Requirements: North Dakota has no laws or regulations regarding LEP students.

Funding: North Dakota's fifty-fifth legislative assembly approved a bill which would provide $300 for each student who has been tested and recognized by the student's school district as having limited English language skills.[55] The funding for LEP students may be granted up to the sum of $150,000 per year for a two year period. There are 5,616 LEP students in North Dakota.

Ohio

Contact: Dan Fleck, Ph.D., Educational Consultant, Ohio Department of Education—Lau Resource Center for English as a Second Language, Bilingual, and Multicultural Education (614) 466–3641.

Requirements: The Ohio Department of Education does not mandate that school districts use a particular approach to assist LEP students. The only mandate is that schools with a bilingual education program have one certified bilingual teacher for every twenty-five students.[56] ESL Programs are also used in addition to structured immersion and tutoring.

Funding: There are 11,343 LEP students present in Ohio, for which Ohio has no specific funding.

Oklahoma

Contact: Dr. Van Anderson, Oklahoma State Department of Education (405) 521–3301.

Requirements: The Oklahoma Attorney General ruled in 1975 that schools must "make remedial efforts by providing bilingual classes or otherwise as necessary to meet the linguistic needs of pupils who enter school unable to speak and understand the English language."[57] English is still considered the basic language of instruction in Oklahoma, but other languages may be used to instruct students.

Funding: Oklahoma provides an additional 25 percent of state funding per child, for students who are gifted or are in need of special education. This includes their 31,561 LEP students.

Oregon

Contact: Merced Flores, Associate Superintendent Compensatory Programs and Student Services, Oregon Department of Education (503) 378–3569, ext.675.

Requirements: Oregon doesn't require any specific programs for LEP students, but state law permits bilingual instruction for students "who are unable to profit from classes taught in English."[58] Special courses are offered until students can benefit from classes taught solely in English.

Funding: Oregon has 25,701 LEP students. There is no state funding.

Pennsylvania

Contact: Myrna Delgado, Pennsylvania Department of Education (717) 787–1890.

Requirements: Pennsylvania has no state laws concerning bilingual education or LEP programs. However, one curriculum regulation exists which states that every school district shall provide a program for each student whose domi-

nant language is not English so that they may obtain English proficiency. Programs must be either bilingual-bicultural or ESL instruction.[59]

Funding: Pennsylvania has 19,861 LEP students for which no state funding has been established.

Rhode Island

Contact: Maria Lindia, Rhode Island Department of Education (401) 277–4600.

Requirements: Each district is required to design a program to assist its LEP students.[60] Most districts have chosen ESL programs. No other mandates or regulations exist in Rhode Island.

Funding: Rhode Island has 8,643 students for which the state allocates $1.4 million. The Providence district, an urban area with the highest concentration of LEP students, provides an additional $250,000 of local funding.

South Carolina

Contact: Jaqui Asbury, South Carolina Department of Education (803) 734–8500.

Requirements: South Carolina has no statutes or regulations regarding education of LEP students.

Funding: South Carolina has no state funding for its 1,826 LEP students.

South Dakota

Contact: Margo Heinert, South Dakota Department of Education and Cultural Affairs (605) 773–3282.

Requirements: South Dakota has no state laws or regulations for programs for LEP students.

Funding: South Dakota has 4,630 LEP students in public schools and provides no specific state funding.

Tennessee

Contact: Julie P. McCargar, Director, Equity and Excellence, Tennessee Department of Education (615) 532–6245.

Requirements: Tennessee passed a Civil Rights Act in 1964 at the state level, which was amended in 1995 by Chapter 381 of the Public Acts. The Act makes each district responsible for designing its own LEP program, having its resources effectively implemented, and proving its program is effective or under modification by regular evaluations. English as a Second Language programs are endorsed and are to be taught by ESL certified teachers. Furthermore, if the programs are not available in the student's home school, the district must provide transportation to a place where services are offered.

Funding: No state funding is provided for Tennessee's 4,002 LEP students.

Texas

Contact: Maria Seidner, Director of Bilingual Education, Texas Education Agency (512) 463–9551.

Requirements: State statutes require school districts with twenty or more limited English proficient students in the same grade level "in any language classification" to establish a bilingual program. This mandate only applies to grades K through 6. LEP students in higher grades must be provided with either a bilingual or an ESL program.

Funding: There are 454,883 LEP students who received $111 million last year.

Utah

Contact: Kathy Akin, Utah State Office of Education (801) 538–7830.

Requirements: Utah state statutes require all school districts to implement programs for LEP students. These can be bilingual, or ESL, or another established alternative.[61] The San Juan County School District and the Navajo Nation entered into a consent decree which requires the district to establish a bilingual education committee to review the existing bilingual education program.[62] The committee must determine whether to accept, improve, or expand the bilingual program. The school district relies on this new decision since it replaces the 1975 Agreement and Consent Decree.

Funding: Utah's state funding for LEP programs has fluctuated from $3.6 million in the 1996–1997 schools year to $2.3 million for the 1997–1998 school year. There are 21,360 LEP students in Utah.

Vermont

Contact: Jim McCobb, Rural Education Center (802) 658–6342.

Requirements: Vermont has no state laws or regulations for the implementation of programs for its LEP students.

Funding: Vermont offers no state funding for its 869 LEP students.

Virginia

Contact: David E. Cox, Specialist, Foreign Languages/ESL, Virginia Department of Education–Division of Instruction (804) 225–2593.

Requirements: Virginia state law mandates instruction in English that is designed to enhance the education of students for whom English is a second language. The state regulates that programs for LEP students "should include a means of identification, assessment, and placement in an appropriate education program."[63]

Funding: Virginia requires that its state funding of $2.5 million be used only for ESL programs.[64] Virginia has 16,290 LEP students.[65]

Washington

Contact: Roger Barron, Program Supervisor, Bilingual/Migrant Instructional Support Services (360) 753–2573.

Requirements: Each school district Board of Directors must make available a transitional bilingual instruction program or an alternative instructional program, if the bilingual program isn't feasible. ESL programs qualify under alternative instructional programs. The programs are to last no more than three years with the majority of funding being focused on the early elementary years.[66] However, if a student is unable to demonstrate acceptable improvement, then he or she may remain in the bilingual or alternative instruction program.

Funding: Washington has 50,987 LEP students and provides $27 million for the transitional bilingual or state approved alternative instructional programs.

West Virginia

Contact: Amelia Davis, Project Director, ESL, West Virginia Department of Education (304) 558–2691.

Requirements: West Virginia has no state statutes or regulations referring to the education of LEP students.

Funding: West Virginia has approximately 3,000 LEP students. Each district is in charge of identifying and assisting its LEP students.[67] State funding is $100,000 per year.

Wisconsin

Contact: Tim Boals, Consultant-Bilingual/ESL Education Program, Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction (608) 266–5469.

Requirements: Wisconsin state law requires bilingual-bicultural education programs for each language group, if there are ten or more limited-English speaking students in kindergarten to grade 3, or twenty or more LEP students in grades 4 through 12. These students are to be taught by bilingual teachers with bilingual counselors made available to high school students. However, if bilingual teachers aren't available, the program may be taught by certified teachers of ESL upon approval by the state superintendent.

Funding: Wisconsin allocates $8.3 million of state funding for the implementation of programs for its 20,541 LEP students.

Wyoming

Contact: Paul Soumokil, Wyoming Department of Education (307) 777–7673.

Requirements: Wyoming has no state statutes or regulations dealing with the education of its LEP students.

Funding: Wyoming offers no state funding for its 1,791 LEP students.

NOTES

1. *Summary Report of the Survey of the States; Limited English Proficient Students and Available Educational Services 1994-1995*. Tables 2.1 and 4.2. Reynaldo F. Macias and Candace Kelly. National Clearing House for Bilingual Education: The George Washington University, 1996. (All individual state figures of LEP students from this point forward come from Table 2.1, except West Virginia and Virginia, which were not included on the table.)
2. *Teresa P.*, Id., 714 citing Castaneda, Id., 1009.
3. Alabama State Code 16-6B-3, 1975.
4. Alaska Annotated Codes, Education, 4 AAC 34.010 to 4 AAC 34.090.
5. Arizona Revised Statutes, Annotated, 15-752 (B).
6. Arkansas State Code 1-4-117, 1931.
7. Arkansas State Code 6-16-104, 1996.
8. "Latino activists sue Calif. educators for bilingual education," *Washington Times*, August 11, 1997.
9. Colorado State Statutes, 22-1-103, 1988.
10. Wilfred Keyes, et al. V. Congress of Hispanic Educators, et al. V. School District No. 1, Denver, Colorado, et al., 1984.
11. Connecticut General Statutes, Annotated, Volume 5A, section 10-17f.
12. Delaware Code, Annotated, Volume 8, 14, Sec.122(b)(5).
13. Florida Statutes, Annotated, Chapter 233.058(3)(D).
14. Georgia State Code 20-2-156, 1996.
15. Hawaii AR, Title 8, Subtitle 2, Part 1, Chapter 41, Civil Rights Complaint Procedures.
16. Idaho Code 33-1601, 1980.
17. Idaho Migrant Council v. Board of Education 79-1068.
18. Illinois Revised Statutes, Chapter 105, Section 5/14C-3.
19. Illinois Revised Statutes, Chapter 105, Section 5/14C-3.
20. Illinois Revised Statutes, Chapter 105, Section 5/14C-3.

21. Indiana State Statutes, 20-10.1-5.5-1.5, 1991.

22. Iowa Code 280.4, 1993.

23. Kansas State Statutes, 75-9501 to 75-9510, 1992.

24. Louisiana State Statutes, 16:1 to 17:410, 1994.

25. Maine State Statutes, 20-A-4701, 1964.

26. Maryland State Senate Bill 720 II-C-1, 1994.

27. Maryland State Senate Bill 720, 1994.

28. Massachusetts General Laws, Annotated, Chapter 71A, Section 2.

29. Transitional Bilingual Education Regulations, 603 CMR 14.00, Section 14.03 (10).

30. Transitional Bilingual Education Regulations, 603 CMR 14.00, Section 14.08.

31. Transitional Bilingual Education Regulations, 603 CMR. 14.00, Section 14.05 (7).

32. Transitional Bilingual Education Regulations, 603 CMR. 14.00, Section 14.12.

33. Michigan State Statutes, 15.1-15.2085(24), 1996.

34. Minnesota State Statutes, 124 to126B.

35. Missouri School Policy, 8.1 E, *English for Speakers of Other Languages.*

36. Nebraska Constitution, Article I, Sec. 27.

37. Legislature of Nebraska, Ninety-Fifth Legislature, First Session. *Legislative Bill 806*, Final Reading, p. 67, lines 20-24. First read Jan 22, 1997.

38. Nevada Revised Statutes, 388.405.

39. *Equal Education Access for Students with Limited English Proficiency: A Compliance Guide*. P.1,6/ Suzanne Irujo, Education Division of Program Support. Bureau of Equity.

40. New Hampshire Revised Statutes, Annotated. Titles 15, 16 Chapter 189.19 p.143. Equity Publishing Company: Oxford, NH. 1984 Replacement Edition.

41. New Jersey Statutes, Annotated, Section 18A:35-18 (A).

42. New Jersey Statutes, Annotated, Section 18A:35-18 (B).

43. New Jersey Statutes, Annotated, Section 18A:35-18 (B).

44. New Jersey Administrative Code, Title 6, Section 6:31-1.4 (A).

45. New Jersey Administrative Code, Title 6, Section 6:31-1.4 (B).

46. New Jersey Administrative Code, Title 6, Section 6:31-1.4 (A) (B).

47. New Jersey Statutes, Annotated, Section 18A:35-19.

48. New Mexico Statutes, Annotated, Section 22-23-6. New Mexico State Department of Education: Guidelines for Compliance, Federal and State Law. P. 11 (1994–1995).

49. New Mexico Statutes, Annotated, Section 22-23-5.

50. New Mexico Bilingual Education Regulations, No. 75-19, VIII.

51. New York Education, Section 3204 (2-A); Commissioner's Regulations Part 154.5 (B) (1).

52. New York Education, Section 3204 (2).

53. New York Education, Section 3204 (3).

54. 16 NCAC Subchapter 6D- Instruction. 0106.

55. Reengrossed Senate Bill No. 2029. Fifty-Fifth Legislative Assembly of North Dakota.

56. Ohio Revised Code, Standard 3301-36-01.

57. Opinion 75-231. Issued Oct. 2, 1975.

58. Oregon Revised Statutes, 1995 Edition. 336.074 - 336.075.

59. Pennsylvania Code, Chap. 5, Sec. 5.216. ESOL.

60. General Laws of Rhode Island. Vol. 3B. 16-54-1,2,3,4,5. Michie Law Publishers: Charlottesville, Reenactment of 1996.

61. R277-716. Alternative Language Services.

62. 1997 Agreement of Parties. Civil No. 2:74-CV-346-S.

63. Virginia Code, Section 22.1-212.1.

64. *English as a Second Language: Handbook for Teachers and Administrators.* Virginia Department of Education: Foreign Languages and ESL, 1992.

65. *Clarification of Legal Responsibilities for Limited English Proficient (LEP) Students.* Virginia Department of Education. p. 3, 1992.

66. 1992 Revised Code of Washington. Vol. 2 28A.180.060, and 1992 Washington Administrative Code. Vol. 11. 392-160-035.

67. *Chief Council of State School Officers Report on Systematic Reform and Limited English Proficient Students in West Virginia,* pp. 154–155, 1995.

Afterword: A Response to Barbara Mujica

Stephen Krashen

In this article, I respond to some criticisms of my book *Under Attack: The Case against Bilingual Education* made by Barbara Mujica in her recent review "Irreconcilable Differences: Two Approaches to Educating LEP Students" (*READ Perspectives* for Fall 1997, Vol. IV, No. 2). I will deal with Mujica's comments in the order in which they are made in her review.

1. Mujica claims that I favor "programs that keep children in native language classes as long as possible" (p. 18). This is not correct. I recommend teaching in the native language as long as it is helpful for making subject matter in English more comprehensible, and I also recommend optional heritage language classes after "transition," in agreement with Glenn (1996).

2. Mujica objects to my "Paris Argument" on two grounds:

- She writes, "...there is a huge difference between cultural information and linguistic skill" (p. 19); and
- She argues that the American in Paris will apply the knowledge "immediately and constantly" while a child taught "for years" in the first language "will not have the opportunity to use her developing English skills..." (p. 19).

I argued that if you are about to move to Paris and work there, and know little French, it is a good idea to get information about Paris in English. This will make the world around you more comprehensible and help you acquire the language more easily. My point was that cultural knowledge *leads to* increased linguistic ability: the more background knowledge you have, the more you understand. The more you understand, the more you acquire. In the program I outline, children certainly do have the opportunity to apply their knowledge. They receive instruction in English in the same subject matter they have already studied in their primary language *as soon as that subject can be made comprehensible.* It doesn't happen the same day, but in some subjects, such as math, it can happen fairly soon. In addition, in the program I describe children are exposed to comprehensible English right away.

3. Mujica objects to programs in which instruction in the native language continues after conversational English is achieved because measures of academic English proficiency are unreasonable, demanding performance in some cases at the thirty-fifth percentile in English reading. Nowhere do I endorse any specific exit or transition criteria. My view is that movement from level to level in the gradual exit bilingual program I describe should be based on teacher judgment.

4. Mujica claims that a little first language help is acceptable, but "conversing for extended periods with a segment of the class in a language other than English may produce the adverse effect of segregating certain children from the rest of the group, or it may lead certain children to develop a crutch that will retard their learning of English" (p. 21). I do not recommend extensive mixing of languages in one class. In fact, the program I recommend is designed to avoid the situation Mujica describes: children in each class or group are, more or less, in the same linguistic boat. In addition, giving children background knowledge in the primary language is not a crutch, but is a means of making English input more comprehensible.

5. Mujica claims that I state that educators should dictate to parents what language to use at home. I support encouragement of the primary language at home, but I have never said that we should insist on it. Parents have the right to use whatever language they want to at home.

6. In my discussion of immigrant success without bilingual education (*de facto* bilingual education) Mujica, citing Russell and Baker, claims that I omit other important factors, such as age. My claim is that, *all other factors being equal*, those with better education in the primary language in their home country will acquire academic English more easily, a claim that is supported by research cited below.

7. Mujica objects to the relevance of the case histories I cite of successful immigrants who had quality education in their primary language: She argues that they "probably did not study the American civil war or Faulkner in their schools abroad. Although their knowledge of math and science might have helped them in the U.S. educational system, it is unlikely that much of the other subject matter transferred. Furthermore, one of the three was already competent in English, having studied for six years in British schools in Hong Kong" (p. 22).

I suggested that the value of education in the first language is due to two related contributions:

1. Subject matter knowledge gained in the first language makes English input more comprehensible; and
2. Literacy developed in the first language facilitates literacy development in English.

Good bilingual programs attempt to provide these two components.

There are many more cases than the ones I mentioned in *Under Attack*. Several more examples are in Ramos and Krashen (1996), who reported success stories of educated immigrants from Spain. In addition, there are research studies that confirm the existence of this phenomenon and that show its great strength, as well as its robustness: it is found using different research techniques and among different groups.

Gardner, Polyzoi and Rampaul (1966) studied the impact of education in the first language on progress in intensive ESL classes for Kurdish and Bosnian adult immigrants to Canada who had "virtually no English" when they arrived (p. 3). The subjects were classified into three groups, as presented in Table 1.

Table 1
Characteristics of Subjects

Subjects	n	Years of Formal Education	Age	Length of Study
High-literates	6	15	31	18
Semi-literates	4	7	28	21
Pre-literates	4	0	35	21

Notes: "Age" = Age of arrival in Canada; and "Length of study" = Months in ESL program.
Source: Gardner, Polyzoi and Rampaul, 1966.

Table 2 presents the gains made by each group on tests of oral and written English after participation in intensive ESL (twenty hours per week, for one to one and one-half years). For both measures, it is clear that the higher the level of literacy in the primary language, the greater the gains. This was true of both measures, and extremely powerful in the written test, in which pre-literates' post-test scores were lower than the high-literates' pre-test scores.

Table 2
Gains after Intensive ESL Instruction

Oral test scores	pre-	post-
High-literates	10	71
Semi-literates	7	58
Pre-literates	1	43

Written test scores	pre-	post-
High-literates	17	91
Semi-literates	0	48
Pre-literates	1	10

Notes: 100 = a perfect score for both tests.
Oral test: Personal questions, picture description, discussion of leisure activities, family.
Written test: Write name, circle correct time, copy words, label pictures, answer personal questions, read text and write answers to questions, fill in blanks with correct prepositions, verb tenses, multiple choice vocabulary.
Soruce: Gardner, Polyzoi and Rampaul, 1966.

Three independent studies using multiple regression arrive at conclusions similar to those of Gardner, et al.:

- Chiswick (1991) studied the determinants of English language proficiency of 836 illegal aliens who had been apprehended in Los Angeles in 1986–1987. Chiswick reported a positive relationship between years of education in the home country and English proficiency, with each year of additional schooling raising English fluency and reading ability 1.3 percent.
- Chiswick and Miller (1995) studied 4,166 immigrants to Australia, based on the 1981 and 1986 censuses. For those who immigrated to Australia from non-English speaking countries, each year of education in the home country raised English fluency 3.6 percent in the 1981 sample and 3.3 percent in the 1986 sample.
- Espenshade and Lu (1997) studied predictors of English competence among 4,146 immigrants to the United States (*Current Population Survey*, November 1989). Again, years of education in the home country before immigration was a significant predictor of English language proficiency.

All three studies controlled for the length of time the immigrant had been in the country and age at the time of immigration, and all considered the country of origin. But there were differences: Espenshade and Fu (1997) and Chiswick and Miller (1995) controlled for aspects of family and community life, and Chiswick (1991) included competence in English on arrival in the U.S.

The samples were different: subjects in Chiswick (1991) and Chiswick and Miller (1995) were men, but differed in mean age (23 years vs. 42.1 years), amount of education in the home country (7.1 years vs. 10.7 years), and duration of stay in the host country (1.5 years vs. 19.8 years). Espenshade and Fu's subjects included men and women but gender was controlled statistically.

All three studies relied on self-report of English, with subjects choosing between four possible responses:

1. Not at all;
2. Not well;
3. Well; and
4. Very well.

Different interpretations, however, were used by each study. Espenshade and Fu used a simple four point scale, with 0 corresponding to "not at all" and 3 corresponding to "very well." Chiswick assigned a score of 0 for "not well" and "not at all" and 1 for "very well" and "well," but Chiswick and Miller assigned 0 to everything except "very well."

Despite these differences, the results of the three multiple regression studies are very similar, attesting to the robustness of the phenomena. (Chiswick and Miller also cite other studies done with immigrants to Israel and Canada in which education in the home country was a significant predictor of proficiency in the language of the country.)

McManus, Gould and Welch (1983) examined the determinants of English proficiency for Hispanic men who immigrated to the United States. For those who had all their schooling abroad, the results agreed with those of the studies described above: more education was associated with better English. But for those who had some schooling in the United States and some abroad, more schooling abroad predicted lower English proficiency. McManus et al. however, used a different definition of English ability: theirs included both self-reported competence and reported use of English. Some subjects were not rated high in English proficiency, even though they rated their English as "very good," because they did not use English at home (p. 127).

Comprehensibility of school input in the U.S. could be a second factor. The mean number of years of education completed was 9.7. An immigrant who had two years of study in his home country and seven in the U.S. reported better English than one who had seven years of study in his home country and two in the U.S. Students who come later may actually acquire more of the second language than those arriving earlier, but they will have a much harder time catching up to their fellow students because the language demands for upper grades are much greater than those for lower grades. In the above example, the first student faced the grade three curriculum, while the second faced the much more demanding grade eight curriculum. Thus, the later arrivals may get less comprehensible input in school and make less progress, especially when special programs, such as bilingual education, are not available.

Mujica notes that one of the subjects I described had considerable exposure to English. Unfortunately, none of the additional research studies described here considered the amount of EFL study subjects had. Consequently, it could be argued that more education in the home country simply meant more EFL and that EFL was the cause of better English proficiency. Recall, however, that in Gardner et al. subjects arrived with "virtually no English," thus controlling for this variable. Also, in Espenshade and Fu (1997), English proficiency at arrival was controlled, which in effect controls for EFL study.

None of the regression studies included the impact of ESL in the host country. The probability that those with more home country education are more likely to enroll in ESL provides an alternative explanation for their higher proficiency in English. Note, however, that Gardner et al. show that those with more home country education (with little or no English proficiency) profit more from ESL. Thus, even if those with more home language education do more ESL in the host country, education in the home country, in the primary language, is still advantageous.

8. Mujica then objects to my description of cases such as that of Richard Rodriguez (1982), who grew up in the United States. I argue that Rodriguez succeeded because of the vast amount of comprehensible input he received in both conversational and academic English; Mujica argues that this is the treatment recommended by opponents of bilingual education. Rodriguez, however, lived in an English speaking neighborhood in Sacramento, the family attended an English-speaking church, and he had the benefit of an extremely print-rich environment in school. He was the only Spanish-speaking child in his class.

9. Mujica appears to agree with my conclusions that the underlying process of reading is similar in different languages, and that "once you can read, you can

read." But, she argues, "once children are conversant in English, why spend time teaching this skill in the native language?" (p. 22). If it were the case that all beginning readers were highly proficient and fluent in oral English, there would certainly be no problem in teaching them to read in English. But many are not when they first come to school. English conversational fluency does emerge rapidly, but it does not emerge instantaneously—it generally takes about two years. My question then is, "If they are conversant in their primary language, why wait until they are conversant in English to teach them to read?"

10. Mujica's next criticism is my interpretation of the role of socioeconomic factors. I suggest that the reason non-bilingual education children in New York City had higher exit rates than those in bilingual education was that the former were from more affluent homes, which meant a more print-rich environment, among other factors. Mujica notes that I offer no evidence to support this, other than a quote from a member of the school board. This is quite correct. I have no data to support this suggestion. That is why it is a suggestion. However, I cited ample evidence showing that socioeconomic factors have a powerful effect on school success, as well as on re-classification rates for LEP children.

11. Mujica next claims that I "fail to take into consideration the success of approaches such as the one adopted by the English Acquisition Program in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania" (p. 24). The report on Bethlehem appeared in *READ Perspectives* in 1997. It was, thus, impossible for me to include it in a book written in 1996. I have, however, read the report (Goldberg, 1997), and I do not conclude that their program is superior to bilingual education: no comparison group was used, and the exit rate was modest. When one looks at children who were classified as beginners when they began to be studied, only 12 out of 130 (or 9 percent) exited in three years (Goldberg, p. 71).

12. I am also accused of ignoring the success of the structured immersion program in El Paso, Texas. I have discussed this program several times in print, including in *Under Attack* as well as in Krashen (1991), pointing out that this "structured immersion" program, designed by Rosa Apodaca, is identical to the gradual exit bilingual program used in California. Oddly, on the very next page (p. 25) Mujica notes that I do discuss this program, but mislabel it as bilingual education, claiming that the children in this program are taught "almost exclusively in English" (p. 25). This is not true. Please see my description of the program and quotations from El Paso USD documents in Krashen (1991, 1996). I worked in El Paso when this program was being set up. It is bilingual education.

13. Mujica disagrees with my interpretation of polls on attitudes toward bilingual education. I do not conclude, as Mujica incorrectly states, that the public is "overwhelmingly" in favor of bilingual education. I do conclude that support for bilingual education is surprisingly strong when the question is not worded so as to imply that more first language instruction means less English language development. Unlike Mujica, I do not believe that "native language instruction involves a trade-off" (p. 25): it is not the case that more native language instruction means less English language development. The whole point of properly organized bilingual education is that the first language can be used in a way so as to help English language development.

14. Mujica states "Krashen argues that the press is biased against bilingual education, but he fails to provide documentation to back up his argument" (p. 25). I certainly did provide documentation. I cited and briefly summarized McQuillan and Tse (1996), who did an empirical study of the media's handling of bilingual education compared to that of the scholarly journals over a ten year period.

15. Mujica accuses me of avoiding the confusion surrounding the term "bilingual education": however, Rossell and Baker show that people don't know what bilingual education means. Rossell and Baker's evidence comes from their analysis of Huddy and Sears (1990), in which "only 22 percent...of 1,170 non-Hispanic adults were able to give a roughly accurate description of bilingual education. Almost 40 percent described it as bilingualism or foreign language instruction, and 29 percent were unable to give any description at all. Despite the fact that three-quarters of respondents could not accurately describe bilingual education, a majority supported bilingual education" (p. 171).

Huddy and Sears's classifications along with the percentage who supplied each definition from the sample of 1,170 is presented in Table 3 below:

Table 3
Percent Supplying Definition of Bilingual Education

"Accurate"	
Teaching foreign students in their own language	6%
Teaching in two languages	16%
Teaching English to foreign students	9%
"Inaccurate"	
Bilingualism	18%
Foreign language instruction	21%
No Description	29%

Table 4
Support for Bilingual Education

For those who give "accurate" descriptions	
Teaching foreign students in their own language	–.74
Teaching in two languages	2.27
Teaching English to foreign students	1.75
"Inaccurate"	
Bilingualism	3.89
Foreign language instruction	2.23
No description	2.79

Note: 0 = no opinion, range from - 10.25 to + 10.25.

Even if we accept Huddy and Sear's classification (it can be argued that "teaching English to foreign students" is too vague to categorize as accurate or inaccurate), what is crucial is that nearly all groups of subjects were mildly positive about bilingual education. The only negative subgroup was the one that defined bilingual education as "teaching foreign students in their own language," which was very close to neutral and consisted of a small subgroup of the sample (see Table 4).

In addition, a series of studies by Shin and colleagues (Shin and Gribbons, 1996; Shin and Lee, 1996; Shin and Kim, in press) shows that when bilingual education is carefully defined, support is high. Shin, as I noted in *Under Attack,* asked subjects their view of each component of bilingual education. They were asked whether they thought that developing literacy in the primary language helped literacy development in English, whether subject matter learning in the primary language was useful in making subject matter more comprehensible, and whether continuing first language development had cognitive and economic benefits. This certainly helps clear up some of the confusion surrounding the term "bilingual education" and was included in *Under Attack.*

Mujica notes that in her experience, she has found that "most people who say they favor it [bilingual education] change their minds when they realize it often entails almost all native language instruction" (p. 26). If I thought bilingual education was "almost all native language instruction" I would also oppose it. The recent Los Angeles Times Orange County Poll is instructive here:

Question (posed to 740 adults):
Which of the following do you most prefer for teaching students who speak limited English?

Results of Poll	Total	Latino
Mostly English with some help in their native language	59%	57%
Only in English as soon as they enroll in school	32%	26%
Native language until they are ready to learn English	7%	17%

Source: Los Angeles Times/Orange County Poll.

As Mujica suggests, few support option three, which calls for no English at all at the beginning. This is, however, an extreme version of bilingual education, and one that I do not support. What is of interest is that only 26 percent of Latinos and 32 percent of the total population favored English-only. The most popular option was number one, not exactly the gradual exit plan used in California but the closest one to it of the three options.

16. Mujica writes "...Krashen attributes opposition to prolonged instruction in the mother tongue to xenophobic and racist points of view" (p. 26). Later in her review, she also accuses me of "disparaging opponents of programs" I support (p. 34). Not only am I quoted out of context, but my original prose (*Under Attack*, p. 49) says exactly the opposite of Mujica's interpretation. I suggested that xenophobes and racists were only a subgroup of those opposed to bilingual education. I discussed the many reasons why people could be opposed to bilingual education, including poor placement procedures and demands that teachers acquire second languages. I certainly do not believe that all those opposed to bilingual education are xenophobes and racists. The majority of opponents of bilingual education that I have spoken to appear to be sincerely committed to the well-being of limited-English proficient children.

Rosalie Porter (in a personal communication to me) has also objected to my characterization of opponents of bilingual education, noting that I do not include the possibility that "some educators are opposed to bilingual education because they are convinced by research and experience that it is not the most effective learning plan for language minority children." Dr. Porter is correct. I should have said this. It represents my position correctly. We have different interpretations of the research and our experiences, but I do not doubt the sincerity of many critics of bilingual education.

17. Mujica feels that Rossell and Baker have demonstrated that continuing to teach children in Spanish "after they know some English hampers rather than develops their acquisition of English" (p. 27). The appendix to *Under Attack* presents a different interpretation of the research Rossell and Baker reviewed.

Mujica does not discuss the major advantage of the gradual exit program: it teaches children in the first language in just those areas in which first language medium instruction is the most useful, that is, in those areas in which instruction in English would not be comprehensible. Moreover, the subject matter knowledge gained in this way helps make subsequent instruction in English much more comprehensible.

18. Finally, Mujica states, "Krashen concludes that because opposition to bilingual education has become so intense, it is necessary to inoculate it from attack" (p. 27). Not quite. I argued that a sure way to inoculate bilingual education from attack is to make it even more successful, and a sure way to do this is to enrich the print environment in both languages. Mujica criticizes this strategy by remarking, "Placing the books on the library shelf is no guarantee that students will use them" (p. 27). This is true, of course. I endorse literature classes, sustained silent reading, reading aloud, and other means of encouraging reading. I have discussed this in great detail in Krashen (1993). In addition, there is compelling evidence that when children are given the chance to read, they do (Ramos and Krashen, in press; Von Sprecken and Krashen, in press). Mujica also feels that children will only want to read in English, even when native language books are available, but cites no data supporting this other than my observation that children do enjoy reading in English. She also maintains that I do not deal with problems such as lack of leisure time and low motivation; all this has been done in Krashen (1993), in which I discuss sustained silent reading and encouraging reading.

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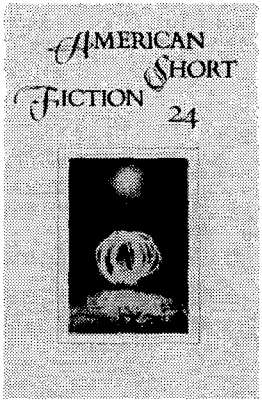

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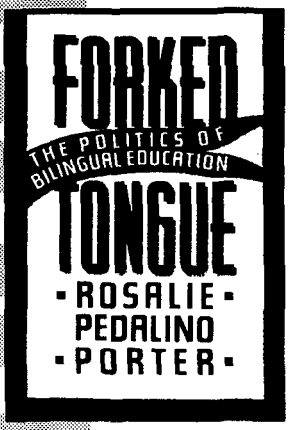

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